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8 July 1983

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AL-AHRAM ON UTILIZATION OF U.S. ECONOMIC AID

PM262129 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 6 Jun 83 p 9

[Usamah Gayth report: "\$68 Million for Financing, Egyptian Investment Projects"]

[Excerpts] Washington--agreement has been reached between U.S. aid and the Egyptian Government allowing joint projects set up in Egypt under the terms of investment law to use part of the U.S. loans, amounting to \$68 million, to finance the import of production equipment and spare parts for these projects so that they can benefit from the easy terms of the loan.

Fu'ad sultan, head of the Egyptian side at the meetings of the Egyptian-U.S. works council, which is meeting in Washington, said that the Egyptian Government's agreement to the new system is aimed at strengthening the joint projects which the Egyptian public sector shares with foreign companies and providing foreign currency for these projects at a suitable rate and on easy terms.

Engineer Isma'il Uthman, head of the construction committee at the council, said that the discussion dealt with the establishment of seven projects with a capital totaling \$50 million in the fields of construction, contracting, brick production, housing companies, and building and construction material production.

The U.S. side has agreed in principle to finance these projects. An economic feasibility study will be carried out jointly with the Egyptian side.

The U.S. side at the works council raised the question of the problems facing U.S. investments in Egypt, particularly as regards bureaucracy, energy, communications, and the multiplicity of procedures and length of time needed to obtain the necessary approvals, investment licenses, and other formalities, as well as the problems of finding skilled labor, services, utilities, and the necessary sites for projects. The U.S. side also expressed its view regarding problems of the development of the Egyptian economy, particularly in the field of energy, the policies of subsidizing commodities, foreign currency rates, and other basic problems related to economic reform in Egypt during the coming stage.

Replying to these remarks the Egyptian side explained that the nature of the economic problems in Egypt and the economic policies that the Egyptian Govern-

ment is seeking to carry out should be viewed in the light of the comprehensive economic reform and not of certain specific policies or particular reform measures, because this would not help secure the Egyptian economic reform. Egypt needs understanding of the nature of the defect in the economic structure, which needs economic reform in all the fields of production, of services, and of all the national institutions serving the national economy.

The Egyptian side, further replying to these remarks, explained that in recent years the Egyptian Government has allocated vast amounts for investment in telecommunications projects, which have been very successful in solving communications problems, which is evident to anyone working in Egypt or dealing with it. The investment authority has also laid down work regulations setting a limit on the time taken for the approval of projects and the issuing of licenses by the authorities concerned.

The group of American businessmen representing major companies participating in the conference confirmed that conditions of investment and economic relations with Egypt, despite certain difficulties, are considered quite suitable in comparison with many developing countries. They are also considered to be among the best investment opportunities in the developing countries.

CSO: 4500/235

## PROMINENT CRITIC ANALYZES ECONOMIC STATE, SOLUTIONS TO CRISIS

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 27 Apr 83 p 5

/Article by Dr Ibrahim Sa'd-al-Din: "Oil, Emigration, and Crisis: Errors Were Made in the Years of the Migration of Egyptian Labor--Have We Prepared for Its Possible Return?"

/Text/ Dr Ibrahim Sa'd al-Din, professor of business administration, well known economic expert and member of the secretariat general of the Grouping Party, is following up on the subject of Egypt's economic problems and ways of getting out of them, as one of a series of articles which AL-AHALI is continuing to present, in this regard, by a number of Egyptian professors and economic experts, foremost among them Dr Isma'il Sabri 'Abdallah as well as Dr 'Uthman Muhammad 'Uthman, Dr Ibrahim al-'Isawi and Dr Mahmud Abd-al-Fudayl. These articles all say, yes, Egypt is in an economic crisis, but it is not out of the question that it can be solved--rather, a solution is possible, in accordance with a view which they present and offer for discussion from numerous angles.

The past 10 years were years of expensive emigration of Egyptian manpower. The constant increase in the drain of the Egyptian workforce was accompanied by great expansion in projects and installations and the accelerated growth in Arab oil countries of the Arab Gulf and north Africa, following the several-fold increase in oil prices which began in October 1973. The emigration has had its positive and negative effects on the Egyptian economy. While it has helped end, or limit, the phenomenon of disguised unemployment in some sectors, and has fed the balance of payments with an increasing amount of foreign currency revenues in the form of remittances from Egyptians abroad, the Egyptian economy has suffered, at the same time, from a shortage of skilled manpower in many sectors, and the extensive emigration, and the economic policies of embracing new patterns of luxury consumption followed in Egypt, have imposed a burden on the balance of payments. These are patterns which it is expected will continue in the future as well, even if the emigration slacks off or the remittances decline. In addition, the foreign remittances have fed inflation in Egypt and have helped the rapid increase in prices of many goods and services.



## Injustified Optimism

Regardless of the negative or positive features of the emigration of Egyptian manpower, many people have viewed it as an increasing, ongoing phenomenon covering a historic period which is likely to continue at length, and the reliance on the remittances of Egyptian workers abroad constitutes one of the bases of Egyptian economic policy. The volume of Egyptian remittances reached their maximum in 1981, when they exceeded 2.8 billion pounds. In spite of the drop in the remittances the following year, to about only 2.5 billion pounds, a study by the specialized national councils has estimated that the volume of savings by Egyptians abroad will increase in 1985 to about 5.5 billion pounds, an annual increase of roughly 15 percent on the average. In order to keep the ratio of Egyptians' remittances to savings at the 1981 level, it is estimated that the Egyptians' remittances must rise and exceed 4.5 billion in 1985.

It appears that the recent drop in oil prices has not affected the optimism of the people who are in charge of the Egyptian economy regarding the possibility of a constant increase in Egyptians' remittances in the future, even if at rates below those that prevailed in the past or those at which it was estimated the remittances would prevail in the future. This confidence appears obvious, in particular, in a recent interview the minister of economy had with the magazine AL-MUSAWWAR: the minister rejected pessimistic estimates of the situation and referred to the experience of the past, when it was said that increased education in the Gulf countries would lead to a drop in demand for Egyptian teachers, and pointed out how the actual situation proved that the demand for teachers increased and did not decline with the increase in education. It is expected, on that basis, that demand for Egyptian labor will increase, as long as the growth in labor-importing countries increases, even if at rates below those that prevailed in past years.

There is no doubt that to take a broad glance at the future of Egyptian emigration abroad, and consequently to estimate the volume of remittances to Egypt in coming years, are a complicated matter, since the influences of many elements which it is hard accurately to predict interact. However, that does not prevent us from saying that that optimism and confidence which officials display is not justified, and that many points indicate the need for caution and the importance of starting now to adopt economic policies to cope with the possibilities of a drop in the emigration of Egyptian manpower and consequently remittances from Egyptians abroad, in order to avoid the serious consequences that might arise in the economic and political contexts.

At the beginning, we would like to point out that Egyptian emigration does not just involve technicians and professionals; rather, the bulk of the emigrants are unskilled laborers who work in construction and building industries and service activities. The magnitude of these groups increased in particular after 1974, as a result of the great expansion in investments in establishing infrastructure in the oil countries and the increased volume of investments in the field of housing.

In addition, these people's migration increased in particular after the door was opened without restriction to the emigration of Egyptian workers first of all to Iraq then later to Jordan. Emigration to these two countries, especially to Iraq, increased as a result of the intensified demand for imported labor in Iraq and the rise in wages there, after the start of the Iraqi-Iranian war, which drew off an important segment of Iraq's manpower and employed that in the war--in spite of which the expansion of construction in Iraq continued as a result of the Gulf countries' financing of an important part of the Iraqi party's costs of the war. The accelerated emigration to Iraq led to an increase in the ratio of Egyptians emigrating to Iraq to the total Egyptian emigration to the point where it was recently estimated at about 45 percent of the total of the Egyptian labor going abroad.

#### Factors in the Decline in Emigration

While the effect of the drop in oil prices on the emigration of Egyptian engineers and technicians has been limited, more than one factor will possibly lead to a decline in the emigration of non-technical Egyptian labor to the Arab world in the future. There are also factors which indicate a large possibility that there will be a decline in the volume of foreign remittances from Egyptians in coming years.

The first of these factors is the fact that the period of the rapid expansion in infrastructure facilities and the construction of new towns and housing projects has neared an end in many Arab oil countries. In addition to that, many of these countries have shifted to the use of Asian labor as a substitute for Arab labor, especially in projects involving major facilities, and many countries have also started to move on to a new stage of economic activity in which investment is concentrated on the least labor-intensive sectors.

The second factor leading to a possible limitation on emigration to oil countries in the future is the emergence of a strong tendency among local leaders in a number of oil countries to believe that it is necessary to stop the population imbalance which extensive emigration to these countries in the past decade has led to.

The local population now constitutes a minority whose ratio to the total population in the small Gulf countries has been constantly declining, the issue of the need to strive for a better balance among the local population and the people coming to these countries, Arab or non-Arab, has come to the surface in many of these countries, and numerous arguments are being raised in the emirates, Qatar, Kuwait and Bahrain, that there is a need to reorganize government departments and reorganize the sector of trade, services and construction in order to limit the growth of the labor in these sectors and reduce the volume of imported labor. Many people are calling for the use of more advanced technology in many labor-intensive sectors to limit the magnitude of labor used, especially imported labor.

#### The Increasing Deficit in Oil Revenues

The recent drop in oil prices has resulted in the strengthening of trends which have actually started to limit the flow of labor coming into Arab



labor-absorbing countries. In spite of the truth of the point the minister of economy made, that many of these countries have large financial surpluses and that the drop in oil prices will not lead to a deficit in these countries' balance of payments (as a result of the incomes their ongoing surpluses abroad earn), the failure of oil revenues to cover the cost of imports in many oil countries will without a doubt influence their investment behavior and their relative orientation toward public spending in coming years, especially since the greater likelihood is that an increased failure of oil revenues to cover imports will continue in the future as a result of the stabilization of oil prices, or the continued drop in these prices, while the prices of foreign imports continue to increase, and the international terms of trade continue as a consequence to move in a direction which is not in the oil countries' favor. The oil countries now realize that even in the event the current oil surplus ends (which is likely to happen after 1985), the oil exporting countries will not regain the monopoly position they enjoyed in the period 1973-82, and it is now necessary for the oil countries, especially the Arab ones, to be more wary over the growth of their public expenses and projects. The stage of "unaccounted" spending has ended forever, to be replaced by the need to make economic accounting of every type of spending.

#### Steps What Have Actually Started To Be Made

Some steps to limit public spending and limit the use of imported labor have actually been started in a number of oil countries. Instructions have been issued in Kuwait, for example, that non-Kuwaitis are not to be appointed to any new government jobs and that appointments are to be avoided even in the case of jobs which are vacated by persons from abroad whose contracts have ended (except in certain cases, such as teachers, judges, doctors on loan and so on). The government of Qatar is showing a tendency to adopt similar measures.

However, the most important effects of the drop in oil prices on the volume of emigrant Egyptian labor and foreign remittances in the short and medium term might come about as part of the effect of the drop in oil prices on emigration and remittances from Iraq. We have already pointed out that emigration to Iraq accounts for more than 45 percent of the total Egyptian labor that has emigrated. Among the emigres to that country are many unskilled laborers who moved there as a result of the high wages and the absence of restrictions on the movement of Egyptian manpower there. The drop in oil prices, in addition to the continuation of the Iraqi-Iranian war, have produced growing negative effects on the Iraqi economy, and Iraqi, for the first times since the oil price hikes, has been compelled to turn to the international market to borrow to meet its expenses. New projects in Iraq have been almost completely suspended, which has led to a drop in the demand for labor coming from abroad, leading to a perceptible drop in the wages of unskilled Egyptian labor in Iraq (the drop has come to about 50 percent, from an average of 8 Iraqi dinars per day to about 4 or 5 dinars per day). This at the same time has been accompanied by the imposition of restrictions on the remittances of Egyptians and other workers from abroad from Iraq, in order to cope with the effect of these remittances on the Iraqi balance of payments. At the same

time, the rate of exchange of the Iraqi dinar relative to the dollar on the black market inside and outside Iraq has dropped. These factors taken together have led to the start of a reverse Egyptian migration from Iraq to Egypt. Emigration to any Arab country is basically aimed, from the point of view of the emigrant, at the acquisition of a reasonable amount of savings in a specific period of time. If the possibility of that shrinks as a result of a drop in wages or a lack of opportunities for making remittances, the motives for emigrating are as a consequence nullified and reverse emigration will start even without interference on the part of the labor-absorbing country.

In our opinion, there is a possibility that reverse migration from Iraq will increase in the near future, and there is nothing on the horizon to indicate that Iraq will emerge from its present economic crisis unless the war ends. With the drop in oil prices, the Arab oil countries will not be able to compensate Iraq for the costs of the war and its losses in a manner that will permit the economic expansion to continue as it had in the past years. The situation will not be very different if the war ends. The current drop in oil prices will lead to slow rates of reconstruction, and the freeing up of a large portion of the Iraqi workforce that is now engaged in war activities will also lead to a limitation on demand for labor coming from abroad.

Contrary to previous circumstances, in which the increased employment of Egyptian labor in some Arab countries made up for the drop in employment in other Arab countries, we, in the current period, are faced with the likelihood of a general drop in the employment of imported labor in more than one Arab country--including the main countries employing Egyptian labor, namely Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Libya and Kuwait.

#### Increased Wariness is a Good Policy

While we believe that there is a likelihood that there will be a limitation on Egyptian emigration in the future, we do not believe that any reduction in emigrating labor is a total evil. The return of a limited volume of labor is likely to help restore some balance to the labor market domestically, in a manner which will reduce the shortage of manpower in certain fields, especially in agriculture. If the returning labor is properly used in productive projects, that might lead to a possible compensation of the drop in foreign remittances through increased local production, although a widespread return of workers may lead to some severe economic and political disturbances.

If increased wariness and close attention to the future are good policy, the situation demands that one not disregard any likely effects on the drop in the oil price on the employment of Egyptian labor abroad. As far as that subject goes, it is necessary carefully and constantly to monitor the situation and prepare, as of now, to face the worst eventualities.

In this context, as far as we are concerned, it is difficult to understand the current position of the people in charge of the Egyptian economy, and

people who are inclined to promote an unreal confidence on the nature of the current economic crisis and the ease and possibility for alleviating it with peripheral measures, unless that is part of a policy of avoiding confrontation with the social classes, especially the parasitic elements and groups that have formed immense fortunes at the expense of our people, on which the burden of any policies of asceticism must fall.

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CS0: 4504/371

HIGHER PRESS COUNCIL MEETING ON HAYKAL'S BOOK

Press Condemns Haykal, Idris

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 28 Apr 83 p 1

[Article: "Higher Press Council Condemns Haykal and Yusuf Idris and Denounces What Has Been Published on Life of Late Leader al-Sadat Because of Its Incompatibility With Bright Historical Facts, Its Violation of Society's Religious, Ethical and Professional Traditions and Its Attempt to Deface Army's Glory and People's Heroism"]

[Text] The Higher Press Council held yesterday a meeting which lasted nearly 4 hours. A number of council members had submitted a request to Dr Subni 'Abd-al-Hakim, the council chairman, to discuss what was recently published on the life of the late President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat. All the members, with the exception of one objecting vote, unanimously agreed to hold the debate.

The majority of the council members took part in the debate, including Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr, 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi, Muhsin Muhammad, Makram Muhammad Ahmad, Tharwat Abazah, 'Ali Mansur, Dr Ahmad Salamah, Sabri Abu al-Majd, Salah Muntasir, Yahya Abu Bakr, Mamduh Rida, Samir Rajab, Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq, Dr Husayn Mu-nis, Musa Sabri and others. All those taking part in the debate, with the exception of Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq, the chief editor of AL-AHALI, organ of the NPUG [National Progressive Unionist Party], unanimously denounced the base method of attack against the late leader Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat.

It was agreed that the Higher Council would issue a statement expressing its members' opinion on what has been published.

A subcommittee was formed to draft the statement and the statement was then presented to the council and approved.

The statement condemns the method to which Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal and Yusuf Idris have resorted, saying that the council denounces what has been published because of its incompatibility with the bright historical facts, its encroachment upon the inviolability of the dead, its dealing with their private life and its violation of society's religious, ethical and professional traditions, in addition to its attempt to deface the army's glory and the people's heroism.

## Text of Statement

Following is the text of the statement:

"The Higher Press Council, having discussed what was published recently in some papers on the private life of the late leader Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat and on the October war victories,

"Having heard the opinions of all its members,

"And having studied the articles of the constitution, of the press authority law, of the Journalists Union law and of the press code of honor,

"Denounces all that has been published because of its incompatibility with the bright historical facts, its encroachment upon the inviolability of the dead, its dealing with their private life, its violation of society's religious, ethical and professional traditions and its attempt to deface the Egyptian army's glorious feats and the Egyptian people's heroism.

"The council, while being fully eager for the freedom of the press which constantly seeks to publish facts and information with utter objectivity,

"Urges all journalists to uphold the deep-rooted traditions of their profession in their debate and discussion methods and in publishing the facts without distortion.

"It is a sublime profession whose rules, traditions and dignity they are asked to uphold, and this is a primary responsibility.

"Accordingly, the council condemns the method to which journalists Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal and Dr Yusuf Idris have resorted.

"The council also condemns whomever follows this path."

## Historic Session

Most of the members who spoke yesterday have described the Higher Press Council's session as a historic session.

Consequently, the council has decided, upon the request of the members, to have the press publish tomorrow the full text of the discussions which took place in the session. The opinion behind publishing the full text is to let the people know all the facts, to let the words spoken be the true expression of the press traditions that observe the honesty of the word and the honor of the pen and to let the entire world know the full opinion of the members of the council which includes the leaders of the Egyptian press and a number of prominent thinkers, men of opinion and public figures.

## Details of Council Debate

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 29 Apr 83 pp 1, 3-5

[Text] We publish in the following the full text of the discussions which took place in the Higher Press Council over the baseness to which some Egyptian pens slandering Egypt's dignity and Egypt's reputation have sunk. The discussions lasted nearly 4 hours and ended with a resolution issued by the Higher Press Council condemning Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal and Yusuf Idris. The council resolution says that it denounces all that has been published because of its incompatibility with the bright historical facts, its encroachment upon the inviolability of the dead, its dealing with their private life, its violation of society's religious, ethical and professional traditions and its attempt to deface the Egyptian people's glorious feats and their heroism.

Here is the full text of the discussions:

Upon completion of the agenda, Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim, the council chairman, delivered the following address:

Allow me, gentlemen, to present to you the following:

A number of colleagues presented to me requests asking that the council discuss the issue of Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal's book, "The Autumn of Fury ." I submitted the matter to the council bureau this morning and the bureau decided to present it to you for discussion at today's session. Those among you, gentlemen, who approve discussing the issue raise your hands please.

(Approved)

Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq, chief editor of AL-AHALI, organ of the NPUG:

I want to discuss the principle before I begin discussing or not discussing the issue. Is what is presented to us the question of discussing a book or discussing an issue concerning the press? Discussing a book is not within our jurisdiction but if it is a matter discussing a press issue, then let it be clear so that I may know what is presented to us.

Council chairman: The council bureau approved including the discussion in the agenda and I have asked the council and taken a vote. We will give you the chance to speak.

Council chairman: His Eminence Shaykh 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr has asked to speak, please take the floor.

Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr

Dr 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Nimr said:

In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate, I want to be briefed both in words and in time in order not to surrender myself to improvisation. I



want to say that while we are experiencing in Egypt the hardships that we all know, while we all exert efforts to try to alleviate this hardship and while Egypt is about to celebrate the anniversary of the greatest accomplishment achieved by al-Sadat--the anniversary of the full evacuation and liberation of the Sinai,

We find a man representing the Hutay'ah ['Umayyad satirical poet] of defamation and al-Mutannabi [a medieval Arab poet] who slandered anybody who did not give him gifts, disseminating in the world some of his poisons and malice against a leader who struggled since his youth, who was imprisoned and tortured for Egypt, who achieved for it greater accomplishments than we had hoped for and who implemented all that he had thought of during the days, rather the years, of his imprisonment. We find this man trampling the values for which and with which we have lived and saying: I am writing history! Since when has the writing of history been the job of the malicious and the tendencious! An argument once broke out between companions of the prophet Abu Dharr and Bilal, may God be pleased with them, and Abu Dharr said to Bilal: You son of a black woman--and he really was black. The prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, learned of the incident and became extremely enraged at Abu Dharr, telling him: "Have you shamed him with his mother? You are a man with the spirit of pre-Islam. No white man has a distinction over a black man except by piety." Abu Dharr felt so repentant that he went to Bilal, put his face on the ground and told Bilal, "Step on my face." Bilal forgave him. Bilal's mother was actually black. But the spirit of derogation and debasement and the atmosphere of dispute and wrath between the two men is what added to this description the quality that angered the prophet. We, and the world with us, are nowadays preoccupied with these poisonous and tendencious words pronounced to us by a man whom we wish would stop doing this at this particular time and would put his hand in the hands of others working to advance Egypt and to alleviate some of the hardship we are experiencing.

#### Transforming Heroism into Acrobatics

Then another man comes up to tell us in the press that he will write about al-Sadat things which we didn't know he was writing. We knew this man as an enthusiastic supporter of Camp David but who then backed down on his support in order to get to the Gulf papers which have boycotted all the workers supporting Camp David, including Yusuf Idris. Idris is writing and analyzing at this time to deprive Egypt of all its feats and to transform Egyptian heroism into acrobatics, portraying this heroism as something on which it had been agreed in advance, as we have read in what has been published in the press.

There is another thing regarding this writer. We saw him meet with the president a few months ago or over a year ago and we saw the meeting broadcast on television and reported by the press, and now this man takes this stance! People wonder how such a man can have the honor of meeting with the president and then proceed to write such things? They have comments on this issue with which those who know the secrets of affairs don't probably agree. But the people or the public or public opinion make on this matter comments which I don't think are correct. This is why I would like the people to know the real facts regarding this matter so that they may stop the base talk which we do

not like or condone. Considering that Egyptians all over the world, and they are more sensitive than we are inside Egypt, have become angry and enraged at the condition which these two writers have reached and extremely upset with the harm done to Egypt, then the Higher Press Council and the gentlemen who issued in the past session the press code of honor must consider this press code of honor and what at least one of the papers here has published.

#### Deteriorating Press Language

Is what has been published compatible with the press code of honor or is it remote from this code to which we are all committed? The prominent gentlemen who control public opinion by way of the press must say their word on this poor condition to which we and the language of the press have sunk. They must say something regarding the behavior of these two writers who have done what they have done and who have undermined our history and our leaders, or rather the leader around whom the entire nation rallied. The nation was not stupid, dumb or unconscious when it rallied behind the leader whom these writers have been tearing to pieces while dead and alive, or rather in his death whereas they did not say a single word when he was alive.

#### Irreligious and Unethical Position

This position is not ethical, religious or humane and I believe that the Press Council, with its members who oversee and guide public opinion and who have issued the press code of honor, must have a say on the issue. Thank you and I hope that we will do what behooves us. Peace be upon you.

Samir Rajab

The floor was then given to Samir Rajab, the chief editor of AL-MASA':

Let me say at the outset that brother Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq has wondered whether "we will discuss the book or discuss the issue as a whole."

The answer to this is that the council has, as already pointed out by His Eminence Dr al-Nimr, issued the press code of honor.

Council chairman: And has also issued an appeal to Egyptian journalists.

Samir Rajab: And has already issued an appeal to Egyptian journalists. Therefore, Egyptian journalists in all their positions must abide by this code, regardless of whether they are or are not working for papers. It is evident that there are sides which have not abided by the code. The proof is the book issued by Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, the serialized articles being written by Dr Yusuf Idris in the Kuwaiti AL-QABAS under the title of "Search for al-Sadat" and the re-publication of Haykal's book in AL-AHALI.

#### Why Did We Approve Code of Honor

All this does make us in fact wonder: Where is the press code of honor? Why did we approve it when we are convinced deep in our hearts that we will not implement it?



It is my opinion that this publishing at this particular time seeks to deprive all of Egypt, and not just Anwar al-Sadat, of all glorious feats. All countries look for glorious feats whereas we, regrettably, are trying to insult ourselves.

When we say that the October victory was just a theatrical arranged by the Americans, the Jews and Egypt, then this is an insult not just to al-Sadat but to all of us as Egyptians.

When we say the epitome of stupidity, embodied in Anwar al-Sadat, met with the epitome of intelligence, embodied in Henry Kissinger--how can we allow ourselves to say such things about ourselves? We are thus ascribing to ourselves numerous characteristics, including cowardice, capitulation and surrender. And we reject all this.

So, as His Eminence Dr al-Nimr has said, the Higher Press Council must take a stance.

We don't want the issuance of codes of honor that are not implemented. We don't want to issue to the journalists appeals which they do not heed. We all want the Higher Press Council to at least have a stance so that every Egyptian citizen may know that the Higher Press Council can have a word that defines the position of every individual [member].

#### Frank and Clear Stance

We have noticed that some other parties in the Arab countries have taken a stance vis-a-vis "The Autumn of Fury." The parities whose names have been mentioned in the book have declared this stance clearly and frankly. It is inappropriate for us to remain silent without issuing an appeal or a condemnation or without defining our position.

Therefore, I urge all the colleague council members to take today a stance in which they define the Higher Press Council's opinion frankly and clearly. Thank you.

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi then took the floor, saying:

A few weeks ago, this esteemed council issued an appeal to all the colleagues to elevate the language of the dialogue, to maintain a proper dialogue among them and not to turn it into a hurling of accusations. Moreover, this council has been, since its creation, as loyal to the press code of honor as the Journalists Union. The press code of honor and press usage guarantees protection for the citizens from what is published against them in the press. This is a rule and a principle acknowledged in all parts of the world and it is one of the journalistic traditions in Egypt.

We have noticed recently that the press arena has been filled with accusations and that expression itself has been abused. We are not discussing a book now, even though I believe that this book should not be confiscated and that the government should not issue a decision banning its publication. The book should continue to be published and discussed.

Council chairman: Please, I have a reservation. Has the government issued a decision banning its publication?

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi: I have read this in AL-AHALI.

Council chairman: This has not happened. Do you have a document proving this?

Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq: An administrative decision, whether verbal or written, is valid. We have been notified of the decision by Hasan Abu Basha, the minister of interior.

Council chairman: When you are given the floor, you may speak as you wish, sir.

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi: It is my evaluation that this book is excessive and not beneficial. On the contrary, it is harmful.

Council chairman: The book has not been published yet so that it may be confiscated. Therefore, no decision has been issued to confiscate the book because the book does not exist.

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi: My information in this regard is derived from AL-AHALI which has published this, saying that it has been banned from publishing [the book]. The chief editor of AL-AHALI is with us and he can clarify this matter for us.

Council chairman: Most of the book's contents have been published. Has anybody banned them? Has anybody confiscated them? If the series were published, would anybody have confiscated them?

#### Disciplining Those Who Assault Egypt's Reputation

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi: In any case, whatever is said in the series or in the book is supposed to be discussed objectively and the language of discussion is not supposed to be a language of assault. Some of the assaults are base and demeaning. The language of dialogue should be objective. This is the best reply to and disciplining of those who attack Egypt's reputation, not the reputation of Egypt's president. I have also heard that some of what is published in AL-QABAS is also being summarized [published in summary] here. I have asked Dr Ahmad Salamah and learned that it is being summarized in AL-MASA'. I have not read this [summary].

Council chairman: Some of the contents [of what is published in AL-QABAS] are summarized in the form of a reply.

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi: We are discussing a very bad phenomenon in Egypt's journalistic life, namely the phenomenon of hurling accusations and of using language unbecoming press discussions. The use of accusations debases us and undermines the reputation of Egypt and the reputation and prestige of the Egyptians concerned with the word in the eyes of the Egyptian and Arab reader, in my opinion.

Regrettably, there is the fad of attacking Anwar al-Sadat. Anwar al-Sadat is in God's trust. He had his great accomplishments and his grave mistakes also. But when an Egyptian journalist deals with or an Egyptian paper publishes a criticism of or an attack against al-Sadat, regardless of whether what is published is copied from a book or from another paper published abroad, then we must express a reservation. We must present the position of the paper itself: Does it approve or disapprove of the attack, does it have a reservation on the method of attack or does it publish in enactment of the freedom of publication or of the reader's right to know? But for a paper to publish things as they are and without reservation, then this is, in my opinion, in violation of what we have agreed on and of what all here have unanimously approved, namely that the national press and the opposition press must abide by a certain method befitting discussion and dialogue. What is required now? I urge all the colleagues, both those representing the opposition press and those representing the national press, to find a solution to save the reader from this malestrum. We must have a clear position toward what is published.

#### What We Have Committed Ourselves to Must Be Respected

I am one of those who condemn what is being published. We must also pledge to respect the press code of honor and respect what we have already committed ourselves to in this hall, namely to keep the language of dialogue a language which befits us and to concern ourselves with what is beneficial to Egypt and to the people and not to preoccupy ourselves with issues which are ultimately subsidiary issues that change nothing.

History belongs to history and nobody can deal with it except by the requirement of dealing with it according to its dictates, with respectful language and a respectful method of writing because history is not open to plunder and cannot be tackled with wounding words. We have never read in the history of any historian or analyst something to wound the sensibilities. A paper which publishes such wounding material is responsible for it as a publisher and must clarify its position to the reader. We want to surpass the phase in which, I can almost say, we have sunk into the swamp of the exchange of accusations and vituperation. The examples are numerous. We want to get out and get the reader out of this swamp by pleding anew to respect the press code of honor, to respect journalistic traditions and to stop insulting each other. Thank you.

#### Correction

Samir Rajab: I want to correct something said by Dr. Ahmad Salamah and by 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi who have definitely not read AL-MASA'. AL-MASA' has not summarized what Yusuf Idris has published. We have only answered him and to answer a certain topic, you must first analyze what it says and then state the correct opinion. Thank you.

Dr Ahmad Salamah

Dr Ahmad Salamah then took the floor, saying:

The truth is that I am not speaking out of any motive of defending a man and I do not want to defend an army. The man is in the trust of history and history is sure to reveal the facts someday. All I want to say on this point is that mere words will not diminish the worth of a leader and a few words said in praise will not enhance his prestige. This is an issue that is in the trust of history now. However, the issue is partially relevant by virtue of the fact that we all chose this man as the leader of this country. The selection of a leader personifies the people who chose him. Consequently, whatever is said about this leader is in fact tantamount to insulting the people who chose him. I don't want to dwell on this point, as I don't want to dwell on another point, namely what is the scientific advice for the historian and for when this historian should write. The historian should be from a generation other than the generation which went through the events that have taken place in order that this historian may be free of the influence of emotions, be they love or hatred. I don't want to discuss the matter from this angle either, considering that the people have said their word on the issue and that we all abide by the people's judgment and public opinion which have been reflected in condemnation and even in contempt [for what Haykal and Idris have written].

Mr Chairman, I don't want to speak in defense of the army nor on how we want to deface a major historical fact, namely the 1973 victories. I see no reason for wasting the council's time in analyzing the October war events or in how those events are portrayed as a theatrical, with al-Sadat and his supporters performing the lead role, keeping in mind that al-Sadat's brother was killed in the first hours of that theatrical. If it is possible that we sacrificed the lives of our sons in a theatrical [words indistinct] Israel sacrificing the lives of its citizens for this theatrical, keeping in mind how concerned Israel is with its citizens. We still remember the past history when the Israelis were digging up the Sinai sands in search of a single bone of any of their soldiers. I don't want to waste the council's time on all this but I would like to be permitted to deal with the issue from two angles: The first is that we are a Higher Press Council by power of the law and that we are in charge of press affairs because the first article of the law states that this is within the framework of society's fundamental mainstays and of safeguarding public liberties, rights and duties and of respecting the citizens' private life and article 35 of the press authority law reaffirms this meaning.

We are required to safeguard these values, be they religious, social or legal values. Permit me to explain the legal values a little because this is the subject on which I can speak.

We are required to do all this and also are required to observe the press code of honor, written in ink that has not dried yet. The provisions of this code paint a bright picture of what language the journalists should use in dialogue and in criticism.

The freedom of expression has been given, has been established by constitutions all over the world and has been given such an elevated position only that it may seek the truth, meaning that an opinion that does not attain the truth, that defaces or wastes the truth is an opinion that merits no immunity and that must not be included under the freedom of expression or of opinion. The freedom of expression, Mr Chairman, comes within the framework of the constitution and of the law and ends where the freedom of others begins. If the freedom of expression exceeds the bounds to the point where it prevents others from expressing

their opinion, it is no longer freedom but is tantamount to usurpation and violence. The freedom of expression must not undermine society's interests. All these are acknowledged constitutional facts. If we cast a look at the constitution, which has guaranteed the freedom of expression and the freedom of the press, we find that it states clearly that the inviolability of the citizens' private life is protected by the law. Freedom of opinion must not under any guise encroach upon the citizens' private life or make a premeditated attack.

I don't want to prolong my address. I have attended the session to speak and search for the truth. Article 46 of the press authority law must be applied. This article states that if a journalist violates the duties stipulated in this law, in the Journalists Union law or in the press code of honor, the matter shall be examined and steps shall be taken, not on the basis of condemnation but in order to reach the truth. But may I be permitted to modify this proposal a little by saying that, in my opinion, the council must at least state clearly that what has been published is in violation of the press authority law and of the press code of honor. I don't imagine that there is enough time to issue an appeal because we have already issued an appeal. We should, therefore, move to the next step, namely, underline the violation. If the violation does not end at this point, then there will be no alternative to implementing article 46, not out of the desire to attack the journalist's freedom but in order to protect society and to safeguard the values we are required to safeguard. Thank you.

Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq

'Abd-al-Raziq, the chief editor of AL-AHALI, then spoke, saying:

I beg the colleagues to be a little patient with me because I may speak somewhat at length. The issue presented to us is not, in my opinion, the issue of "The Autumn of Fury" nor of the articles of Dr Yusuf Idris because none of us can say that he has read the book or the articles, except within the limits of what is permitted. (Shouts: We have read the book and we have read the articles.)

'Abd-al-Raziq: I beg the esteemed chairman to protect me from interruption.

Council chairman: I beg you not to provoke the members and then demand not to be interrupted.

Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq: I have not provoked the members. But I can say that as a council, most of us have [not] read this book and these articles. I, as the chief editor of an opposition paper, cannot get the censored Arab papers.

Council chairman: What do you mean by censored?

Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq: I mean papers banned from entering Egypt. I mean that I have not read any edition of AL-QABAS which has published the articles of Dr Yusuf Idris. Since the second article in the series, AL-WATAN has been denied entry into Egypt and I have not read it since then. I say that Dr Yusuf Idris' articles and "The Autumn of Fury" are not fully available to us in order that we may discuss them. But I believe that what is presented to us now consists of three fundamental issues:



The first is the issue of the method of dialogue.

The second is freedom of the press.

The third is the issue of political criticism, and of the method of dialogue, raised by this book.

#### Freedom of Press and Method of Dialogue

Council chairman: If you permit me, the freedom of the press comes before the method of dialogue because the dialogue will not take place until some feel that the freedom of the press has been undermined.

Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq: Mr Chairman, I am entitled to put matters in the order I want and you can then make your comments. It is unreasonable that I be interrupted every half a minute. If I am permitted to speak, then I beg to be heard to the end.

Council chairman: It is my right in accordance with the bylaws to interrupt any speaker. When I asked for your permission, I was being polite only.

Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq: I say that three issues, regardless of their order, are being presented to us, namely the method of dialogue, freedom of the press and criticism of politicians, and the extent of this criticism.

Insofar as the method of dialogue is concerned, I say that many colleagues who have discussed what they have learned about the "Autumn of Fury" have exceeded the simplest bounds of values, ethics and the law in their discussions and their words have reached the point of leveling accusations against political forces and against individuals, using words such as low and base against colleagues.

Council chairman: I beg that we maintain the standard of dialogue in this council in order that we may be able to ask the journalists to maintain a high level of dialogue and so that we may not slip into the pitfall behind these journalists.

Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq: I have not slipped.

Council chairman: I am eager to maintain the dialogue in this council at a high level, regardless of what is published in the press. I am also eager to safeguard this council's dignity. The dialogue taking place in this council must have its high standard, regardless of what is published outside.

Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq: The use of the words agent and treason by some colleague journalists must be discussed by the council. These words have been used in answering "The Autumn of Fury" and other published materials.

The second point is the freedom of the press. AL-AHALI published the first chapter of the book and was then banned from publishing the second chapter. Even though the esteemed chairman has said that nobody has banned the paper, I say that a ban decision has actually been issued. Maj Gen Hasan Abu Basha, the minister of interior, contacted the [NPUG] party secretary general and

received him at 0020 last Saturday, upon the minister's insistence, to notify him of the ban on publishing this book, basing his ban on the determination that the book is not published yet in order that we may confiscate it and that a decision will be issued for its confiscation. The minister also notified the secretary general that a decision had been issued to ban its entry into Egypt and to confiscate certain Arab papers, such as AL-WATAN and others, for what they have published. Consequently, and in accordance with the law, we are not permitted to quote such papers. The dialogue between us and the minister of interior continued until 1100 last Tuesday when a meeting attended by numerous people from AL-AHALI and from the Ministry of Interior was held. The presence of the ban decision was confirmed during the meeting. We wanted a written decision because we had expected such a question. The decision is an administrative one. Dr Yahya al-Jamal was present [at the meeting] and he knows that legally, an administrative decision can be issued verbally or in writing and that we can go to the court with a verbal administrative decision. So there is a decision and I am not lying when I say that publication [of the book] is banned.

As for confiscation or non-confiscation, this is an issue that concerns them. We are not afraid of confiscation. However, what I know is that AL-AHALI is a paper published by a legitimate party and respects the law.

The third point is the method of criticizing politicians. I beg my colleague's permission. I am not a lawyer but by virtue of my work in the press and of my being in charge of the paper, I frequently go to the courts in political cases and I am interested in the law. I have devoted attention to examining the issue of criticism and of criticizing public officials. I will read some verdicts issued by the Egyptian Court of Cassation and the opinions of some legists on criticizing officials.

#### Issue of Criticism in Egypt

The issue of criticism in Egypt begins with article 47 of the constitution which states that criticism, self-criticism and constructive criticism are a guarantee for the sound structure of the country. In a 208-page book entitled "Permissible Criticism," Dr 'Imad al-Najjar says that it is not necessary that society, or even the majority or minority in society support a critic's opinion in order that the critic may escape punishment. The critic may have his own exclusive opinion, even if he disagrees with all other people, as long as he is honest in the opinions he expresses. Dr al-Najjar adds that history has taught us that what may seem extremely wrong today may be right tomorrow and that what is right yesterday is wrong today, and so forth.

Dr al-Najjar also says that all criticism contains a degree of slander, vituperation and insult and that any criticism voiced contains a degree of slander, vituperation and insult.

Council chairman: Who is Dr 'Imad al-Najjar?

Hussayn 'Abd-al-Raziq: He is a law professor who has issued a book called "Permissible Criticism" which has been published in the papers. He says that

though slander, insult and vituperation are considered crimes, these qualities are considered permissible in political criticism. I don't want to dwell long on this issue because there are lengthy paragraphs that I can cite to the council. But Dr 'Imad then adds that insofar as politicians and top officials are concerned, legists and the judiciary have agreed that the boundaries of permissible criticism are much broader than the boundaries of permissible criticism concerning the ordinary citizen and the civil servant. The right to criticize extends to include the politicians' personal life. The sphere of criticism grows broader the greater the politician's responsibilities are and the higher his position in the state rises. In page 234 of the doctoral thesis he presented to the university in French, Dr Salih Mansur quotes a French legist named Barthelmy who says that it is indisputable that the ordinary person has the absolute right to be left alone. But under the canopy of democracy, when a citizen presents himself to his copatriots, asserting that he is worthy of governing them, then I don't believe he has the right to set up barriers or trenches around his existence or to designate prohibited areas within his personality. He who gives himself must give completely. If a person has secrets to hide, then he has no option but to stay where he is or to take the risk.

#### Attacking Political Opponents

If we move from the general we come to a case with which the Egyptian judiciary dealt on 11 January 1924. On 6 November 1934 [sic], the Egyptian Court of Cession issued a sentence--published in Dr Muhammad 'Abdallah's book entitled "The Publication Crimes"--saying: It is agreed in all the constitutional countries that attacking political opponents generally is more broadly and extensively acceptable than attacking a certain employee [civil servant]. An individual who nominates himself on behalf of the country subjects himself with full knowledge to seeing all his actions the target of attack and criticism. Public discussions, regardless of how extreme they get in criticizing the actions and opinions of the political parties, are generally in the interest of the nation which thus gets the opportunity to have a frank opinion on the party it trusts and supports. Moreover, on 24 January 1925, Dr Muhammad Husayn Haykal wrote an article attacking the then Prime Minister Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul and accusing him of treason, of loyalty to the British and of agreeing secretly to ceding many of Egypt's rights. Sa'd Zaghlul was not just a prime minister but also the leader of the entire Egyptian nation. On this issue, the judiciary said: By perusing the article, it has become obvious that it says so and so.... The court sees in the phrase nothing that can be considered as undermining the prestige of the prime minister, considering that he is a politician and that the acts of politicians are, by their very nature and by virtue of the positions which the politicians hold, subject to political criticism. A sufficient proof of what is said is the bitter criticism we frequently find in the foreign papers, especially against their politicians. In view of the above, the charge against the defendant is unproven and he must be declared not guilty of it.

I put these points before the colleagues so that they may know that there is a difference between criticizing the head of a state and writing the biography of the head of a state from the view point of the writer. Consequently, I say that the issue presented to us here is not the issue of what Haykal has written in "The Autumn of Fury" or of what AL-AHALI has published on "The Autumn of Fury" because what has been published is, in accordance with the law, protected and is a right and a duty and nobody has the right to impose custodianship on the Egyptian people. Haykal's book should be published and let whoever wants



to answer it do so and say what he wants to say in order that the people may know the truth. This is insofar as this issue is concerned. The second issue is the issue of the method in which the publication of Haykal's book has been tackled. The base language used in the attack on Haykal, on AL-AHALI, on the party of the left and on the NPUG and on Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, is what needs to be discussed today, not Haykal's book, because Haykal's book is published, he is responsible for it and the book can be answered. The worst that I fear is that the Press Council will get itself involved in a political issue because the battle is not over the issue of a journalistic approach or over dialogue but over a political issue. Some defend a certain policy and others disagree with a certain policy. Those defending this policy want the Press Council to turn into an inquisition court condemning or issuing sentences of not guilty. I warn against this. Thank you.

Council chairman: I have a short comment to make on the last sentence uttered by Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq regarding transformation of the Press Council into an inquisition court and saying that some people want one thing from the council and the council works something else. The law has entrusted the press authority to this council and some members of this council asked that the issue be presented for debate, not to discuss the content here or there but to discuss the issue by virtue of the fact that this council is, in accordance with the constitution, the press authority in Egypt. The opinion here is for the majority and not for anybody else.

Muhsin Muhammad: Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq has said that on 25 January 1925, Dr Haykal wrote an article attacking the then Prime Minister Sa'd Zaghlul. The truth is different because Sa'd Zaghlul was not Egypt's prime minister on 25 January 1925.

'Ali Mansur

'Ali Mansur then took the floor, saying:

Despite our viewpoints, we are all concerned with two dignities: The dignity and interest of this homeland and the dignity of what is said about it. Within these limits, our viewpoints are right. I will confine my words to the dictates of the law in commenting on what our esteemed colleague Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq has said. To put it briefly, it is acknowledged that every man has the right to protect and defend himself and that when he passes away, this right is transmitted to his heirs. However, I agree with our esteemed colleague and disagree with him on the basis of the same reference he has cited, of which the most prominent is perhaps "Publicaiton Crimes" by Muhammad 'Abdallah from which our colleague has quoted some parts, omitting others. What is agreed upon by legists and the judiciary is that an individual's public person may be criticized for his acts. The higher this person's position rises, the broader this right of criticism grows. Consequently, a person who proposes to be in the public life cedes a degree of what concerns his person, contrary to the ordinary individual. Criticism, whether during the public person's life or dealing with history's judgment after his death, should be within the limits of this space. This is why controls are established in Muhammad 'Abdallah's book itself, citing the French Court of Cassation and the best-known book in

this regard, namely Lancaster's translated book, entitled "Political Criminality and Criticism." Pages 300-350 of Muhammad 'Abdallah's book perhaps provide the decisive answer on this indisputable right. The freedom of opinion and people's and history's ownership of public figures is something that we may hate. But we must take two things into consideration in this regard: The first is the difference between the use of the license and the misuse of the license. This is something that applies to all rights and to their misuse. The license remains valid as long as it is used properly and it becomes subject to various degrees of censure, including criminal censure, when misused. According to the unanimous opinion of legists and judiciary rulings, misuse consists in part of fabricating events or insulting the person of deceased public figures in dealing with their biographies when there is no call for such fabrication or insult in the context of what is discussed. Therefore, the issue of criticism is not absolute but has its controls which make it possible to drop the license when misused. Let us turn to the issue we are discussing: Has the license been misused or not? What should we do when such misuse takes place, especially since what is happening deals not only with the life of deceased leaders or public figures to whose public persons the critic or the historian has a right but also deals with evaluating a popular event which the people consider a national event. Does the critic or the historian have the right in this case to seek protection behind the claim that the public figure falls within the sphere of discussion by virtue of his having ceded his right [to privacy]? The right of peoples and the national right is a right that does not fall. Violating this right is a blasphemy deplorable at all levels, regardless of whether the license is misused or not in this respect. Thank you.

Musa Sabri

Musa Sabri then spoke, saying:

Mr Chairman, the truth is that I had planned before attending this session not to say a single word because I am truly sad. A month or so ago, we were here in this hall and the press code of honor was presented. I should perhaps note that I said that there was no call for this code. We are turning in vicious circles, the press code of honor is violated daily and there is no way to answer this violation. There is a list of the rules of the profession which now constitutes a part of the Journalists Union law and which is also being violated daily. I had thought and believed, as we have already learned, that these laws are dead laws because they find nobody to implement them. When I heard the word of colleague Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq, my pain intensified. He has sought to come up with a new interpretation of the meaning of the freedom of opinion and the meaning of free criticism--an interpretation which supports and gives legitimacy to the freedom of slander, of vituperation, of defamation and of encroaching upon honor and inviolability, basing the interpretation on a few words expressed in a sentence. 'Ali Mansur has taken care of answering these words.

One Word Against Khalid Muhyi al-Din for Which He Collected 10,000 Pounds

I wish to remind Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq that AL-AKHBAR made a mistake one day in an editorial whose writer quoted from a dialogue which had taken place at the

People's Assembly--let me repeat, a dialogue which had taken place at the People's Assembly--namely the word "agent." Khalid Muhyi-al-Din sued us in the lower court, the court of appeals and the Court of Cassation and a verdict was issued in his favor awarding him 10,000 pounds. On my part, I had apologized to Khalid Muhyi-al-Din because I had not read this word. Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, who is a public figure, one of the heroes of the 23 July revolution and a politician who is subject to what other politicians are subject to, did not accept this one single word, despite my sincere apology to him, and sued us. The court of appeals awarded him 10,000 pounds in damages and the Court of Cessation, which turned down our appeal, upheld the sentence. But today we read under the guise of the freedom of expression, the freedom which Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq wants to turn into terrorism, that whoever works to have this country's morals and values respected and to give this country's youth and people an example and that whoever confronts those who violate the boundaries of ethics is an enemy of freedom. It is as if freedom has become, as he says, the freedom of vituperation, of slander and of violating the inviolable, such as saying that Anwar al-Sadat looked for a grave to bury his mother's body but could find no such grave. Is this freedom, are these ethics and is this press dialogue and historical evaluation? Moreover, I have in front of me an excerpt which I am compelled to read in order that we may understand the meaning of the freedom being, very regrettably, advocated by Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq. The writer says, and I am quoting here from what is written in an Arab paper by an Egyptian journalist:

"Al-Sadat performed his role while being fully aware of how dirty that role was. But a complex violent force drove him to do what he did willingly and voluntarily. It was perhaps a latent and sick intrinsic greed which existed and which was even recorded by 'Abd al-Nasir himself, as we will see later--a fearful intrinsic greed for pleasures of all kinds, for wealth in its various forms and for deviation in all its known and unknown categories and a character which, by nature, is traitorous, conspiratorial and subservient. Al-Sadat found the evil force to exploit, lead and drive him and to achieve what it wants." Here end the words of the Egyptian writer. Very regrettably, this is freedom of opinion. This is the scientific and objective evaluation of this country's leaders and commanders.

#### Freedom Has Turned into Swamp

Mr Chairman, the issue is not one of legal interpretation nor of wrenching a few words from a judiciary sentence. The issue is one of public values and of public ethics which we must observe in what we write, regardless of whether what we write comes or does not come under the arm of the law. While millions of people here and elsewhere are told that al-Sadat was a thief, a graft-taker, a spy, an agent, an acrobat and a traitor in the various phases of his life, we here from Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq a few words taken from a judiciary sentence. This is the ugliest exploitation of freedom. Nobody imagined that the freedom declared by Anwar al-Sadat--the freedom of forming parties and of allowing parties to have papers to speak on their behalf--and supported by the people and by these parties would turn into a swamp reflecting a painful, repugnant and regrettable image of the press as a whole, of the word as a whole and of the respect for opinion as a whole. This is not the place to defend Anwar al-Sadat at all because Anwar al-Sadat does not need to be defended. Millions

of Egyptians will celebrate this week the first anniversary of the accomplishment which al-Sadat achieved peacefully after a war that is the source of pride for every Egyptian and every Arab. We have raised our heads and they want us now to lower these heads [in shame]. Egypt's army has scored the first real victory in Egypt's modern history. But very regrettably, we find among us Egyptians who want to portray the immortal October epic which has been taught in all of the world's military institutes, which have described the superb crossing as a miracle by all military criteria--while the entire world is talking about this feat, we find some Egyptian writers who claim to be impartial and neutral and who claim to believe in freedom seeking to reverse these aspirations and seeking to tell the entire world: O military institutes, O great commanders in all capitals of the world, don't you believe it. This was an imaginary and planned war intended for shedding the blood of thousands of victims. Is this freedom? What violation of freedom can be graver than this violation?

#### All Egyptians Are Ones Who Fought

The question is not a question of whether Anwar al-Sadat is the one who fought. Yes, it is true that his brother was the first one to be martyred. But Anwar al-Sadat is not the one who fought. Anwar al-Sadat made the brave decision to fight but those who fought were every Egyptian on the battlefield and on the internal front. Every Egyptian family has had a martyr and we are telling these families and telling the entire world: Hang your heads because we have achieved this immortal victory! God be praised, all of Egypt's accomplishments are duped into the abyss. The author of "The Autumn of Fury" says in the prelude to his book: O, you Westerners who have appreciated al-Sadat and put him at the top [sentence incomplete]. When al-Sadat was martyred, Kreisky said that the leaders of the 20th century were Churchill and Anwar al-Sadat. All the leaders of the civilized world felt bereaved and pained and felt the world's loss of this ideal unique leader. But when the world offers us this national wealth, when it expresses respect for Anwar al-Sadat's history and when it praises the courageous steps which al-Sadat took, does the world really praise the person of Anwar al-Sadat? This is praise for the role of Egypt which triumphed in war and established the will for peace. Weren't the millions who received al-Sadat upon his return after establishing peace members of the Egyptian people? Were they imported? Don't they have any dignity or respect under the canopy of the freedom of the press? What freedom and what manners? No sir, this is terrorism. We don't come here every time and say the public law. It used to be that when a single line was written attacking somebody, he would go to the courts and so why should we release the freedom of slander, of vituperation and of violating the inviolable? And if you don't like this, go to the courts! No sir, because there are observed public values. There are public values, and it is not important if I go to the judiciary. What is important is to offer the people a press befitting their history, befitting our values and befitting the victories of our leaders. It is not an issue of whether this is subject or not subject to the ruling of the Court of Cassation. This is not the core of the issue. The core of the issue is to elevate what is happening from its baseness and we, let me say it again, are debasing ourselves. No, sir. This council, and all the press leaders and opinion leaders and university thinkers it contains, must act in solidarity to avert this imminent danger which is threatening not only values of freedom but also the values and



ethics which must be disseminated among the people and which must provide bright examples to this perplexed and torn youth. Otherwise, we will be betraying the trust of our journalistic work first and the trust of our presence as members in this council second. Thank you.

Sabri Abu al-Majd

Sabri Abu al-Majd then spoke, saying:

The fact is that this session is a historic session to which we must devote sincere attention. I say these words, hoping that none of the colleagues will imagine that I am defending a special issue about which I am enthusiastic. Having worked in the political sphere for more than 30 or 40 years, I assure you and swear to you that we have never descended in our political difference so low. It can be said that I am one of those who keep all the editions and articles of old newspapers and I swear to you that we have never descended in approach, in meaning and in performance to the level to which these days' approach has descended. It is possible to criticize a certain leader for his political actions.

Do we condone this or are we condoning it because the person insulted and attacked is Anwar al-Sadat? Here in this hall, we are nationalists who have not come to represent a certain party or current but have come because imminent danger is threatening our people and our youth. I warn against the continuation of this action in its present form because there isn't much left in [my] life, and I say this from a sincere heart.

I say that there isn't much left in life in order that we may condone such acts. Is there any Arab writer who has discussed any of his leaders in this manner? Is there a single paper of the tens, even hundreds, of Arab papers published in Kuwait, Jordan and so forth that has undermined the dignity of anybody the way Anwar al-Sadat's dignity has been undermined? Does nay of these writers who collect [salaries] in the thousands [of pounds] dare attack the chief of a police precinct in Kuwait or Abu Dhabi? Egypt has become open and violable by everybody. This is shameful, and I say it from a sincere heart. It is shameful to condone what is happening. We are not putting a writer or a book on trial but only calling for a pause with ourselves. We are stooping to the level of what has been published in AL-AHALI or what was published in AL-AHRAM yesterday in reply to what Yusuf Idris has written. I am not putting anybody on trial and I am not talking about what has not entered Egypt but about what has been published in Egypt. If any of us lets his conscience be the judge, would he accept having mother, father or son described as they have been described? I am turning to the Higher Council today only to address the installment on [al-Sadat's] roots only. Does Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq, the socialist writer who has fought and is still fighting classes, condone the publication of this installment in his paper? How can such words be published. I say that their publication constitutes a deviation from the principles of the NPUG party. As we know, the NPUG, in which I have old colleagues and friends of whom I am proud, can never accept such a thing as what has been published about the roots. Whose roots? We are all peasants and we all come from toiling classes. It is no disgrace at all that Anwar al-Sadat's mother is this or that

and his father is so and so. Rather, this is a source of pride, not of disgrace. Mr Chairman, future generations will study and discuss this session and will ask: What did the Higher Press Council do when major battles were portrayed in this feeble manner? Moreover, all that is happening begins to happen only after Yusuf Idris' meeting with whom? With Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi, 'Field Marshal' Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi. It is time for us to take a national stance, not a partisan stance. This is a disease devastating the people. I beg and entreat you to work all together to rescue the people from this epidemic. Thank you.

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi then requested to speak again and said:

When speaking of the freedom of the press, we must differentiate between the freedom of expression in search of the truth on the one hand and what may be called personal grudges on the other hand. I recall, and our friends the legists may be more capable of recalling this, the judges Doyen 'Abd-al-'Aziz Pasha Fahmi's ruling on criticism and personal grudge. Anwar al-Sadat, dead or alive, is a public figure, his actions belong to all and it is the duty of the critic to analyze, evaluate and judge them. But for the issue to turn into a personal grudge, then this is something from which the law protects every citizen. When the personal attack is aimed at the president of the republic who represents the homeland and represents Egypt, then I believe that it is an attack against Egypt itself. Brother Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq should not imagine that the demand for an objective method of historical evaluation, for elevating the language of the dialogue and for disavowing personal grudges, vituperation and slander is a restriction on the freedom of the press. Rather, this demand is tantamount to purging and enacting the true freedom of the press which concerns itself with nothing other than the fundamental issue, namely the issue of the truth. But if Husayn imagines that some of those who have demanded discussing the issue--and the issue is in fact the issue of discussing the method of dialogue and of criticism--want to transform the council into an inquisition court, then I disagree with him. This is wrong because the council cannot turn into an inquisition court and because it does not possess the means to punish. The union has issued a statement condemning this method of dialogue and we have condemned this method of dialogue and demanded that we discuss matters in the manner befitting us because this [current method] demeans and lowers us as writers in the eyes of Egyptian and foreign public opinion. Besides, foreign public opinion has judged al-Sadat and appreciated him as a national leader and as a brave struggler for peace. What will this public opinion say when it reads the accusations voiced in this book?

Musa Sabri, Dr al-Nimr and Abu al-Majd Have Discussed Issue Objectively:

The book "The Autumn of Fury" and the accusations published by AL-AHALI when it published the roots issue--I am truly ashamed that our language of dialogue and of evaluation contains words as those that have been published. What is the use of what has been published in judging the person politically and what is the worth of writing this and that about the person's mother and father in evaluating the person historically? All these things are futile and uncalled for. I also condemn the method of defamation used in answering Haykal. Nobody

approves this method. But there have been courageous discussions in which this method was not followed. I note in particular the words of Musa Sabri, Sabri Abu al-Majd and Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr who has used the phrase "Haykal, this is shameful" which is acceptable. There has been an objective discussion. The first to raise this issue were Musa Sabri and Sabri Abu al-Majd on two successive days. We may go on talking till the morning, then till the night and the next morning. But what is important is that we emerge together with an agreement. Mr Husayn, this is protection for the freedom of opinion and protection for the honor of every politician, dead or alive. We must protect this honor against being torn to pieces. The word has no fangs and no nails to dig up graves. The word is more sublime and nobler than this. We must protect the right of every person to express his opinion or to disagree with us, with his honor and his dignity protected and untouched. What we have heard is tantamount to soiling the honor of people and to digging up graves. This is unbecoming. What we have read in reply to Haykal also contains words that I do not want to describe. However, they are words that do not befit the nature of things or the printing presses.

This is why I appeal to my colleagues to implement the press code of honor. This is not intimidation, but obstructing the press code of honor is intimidation. Let us agree together to safeguard ourselves and our dignity and to make our language of dialogue a befitting and objective language. Let us search for the truth together and not devote any attention to tearing some people's honor apart or to tearing some people's clothes or flesh apart. Thank you.

Tharwat Abazah

I might be content with what has been said. However, there is an addition that I must have the honor of presenting to the council. The writer has the freedom to say what he wishes and nobody has the right to prevent him from doing so. But we also enjoy this freedom and we have our opinion on what is being written, especially when it touches the inside details of our leaders' lives or our national victories in a manner that constitutes an attack on the feelings of those who lost father, home or brother and who find solace in the fact that those they have lost were martyred for God and the country only to find that, in the opinion of the writer, they died as nobodies in a farce. What has been said stuns all the Egyptian people who are now stunned, lost and dazed. Therefore, it is the duty of the Higher Press Council to state its opinion, without obstruction or suppression, in a statement to the world saying that the Egyptian press, represented by this council, condemns what has been said. Thank you.

Dr Husayn Mu'nis

Dr Husayn Mu'nis then said:

The book we are discussing has been written as a historical book. As a professor of history, I will speak from this angle. The truth is that I imagined that the book's author knows at least the history he attended and the history in which he participated. At one time, there wasn't in this country a journalist, thinker or man of letters in closer contact with the facts than this man. I saw [read] the entire book abroad last week and I was very surprised and annoyed. Far from base words, of which enough has been said, I believe that it is fortunate that they have said this because the judgment of the Western jour-

nalists who have bought the book on this man is a decisive judgment, meaning that the writers have denounced it [sic]. If a publisher publishes the book to sell it, i.e. to recoup some of his money, the European paper which has taken it and the publisher who has published it have come to know the truth of this man's information. This is probably one of the benefits of freedom, meaning that we have now learned or all of Europe has learned how much this man knows about the facts. On the other hand, the Arab countires, such as Saudi Arabia which used to support [him], have become aware of the error and of the contradiction with the facts. The issue has even led to dismissing a minister because he permitted the publicaiton of these things. All these are some of the virtues of freedom. There is another word I want to say, namely that I denounce the book from beginning to end as a historical piece. I also denounce that Yusuf Idris has been writing because it is totally improper. I base my judgment on the fact that we are now in the age of history books which are being written daily. There are books on the Falkland war which ended yesterday [recently]. Ministers change and cabinets change.

#### No Writer Has Descended to This Level

In all the modern history books, and I follow all of them, I have never found an author descend to this inhuman, unethical and unscientific level. The whole issue is tantamount to a man who has exploited an opportunity given him by some people and exposed himself to all. I tell you there is no harm to Egypt, to al-Sadat or to the people's values from such a book. We thank God it has been published. As for the other writer who says it [the October war] was a theatrical, we have now learned the facts we must know about these people whom we had imagined to have a higher ethical and scientific level. Thank you.

The floor was then given to Yahya Abu Bakr who said:

The only thing I want to add to all that has been said in this discussion is an addition to the issue. In addition to the right to criticize, to the freedom of the press and to the freedom of opinion, there is a very important issue, namely the issue of professional integrity. The issue of professional integrity in journalism has been raised in numerous international circles. Our judgment on this issue concerns not only a history book or a book about Egypt but also a journalist who writes on this subject. We must consider this journalist's position vis-a-vis the honor of the profession and vis-a-vis professional integrity. We must also consider what is published in the papers by journalists who must respect their profession and the honor of the profession. This is just an addition which I have wanted to point out and underline--namely the addition of professional integrity in all that has been written on this issue. Thank you.

Mamduh Rida

Mamduh Rida, chairman of the Board of Directors of al-Ta'awun [Publishing] House, then said:

I have a short reply after all we have heard and all that has been said at this historic session. I believe that we must not leave this historic session before



declaring our opinion clearly on this crime which has been committed against Egypt, its people, its army and one of its great leaders.

Ahmad Salamah

The floor was then given to Dr Ahmad Salamah who said:

The truth is that what urges me [to say what I am going to say] is the legal aspect so as to clarify the issue. Mr Chairman, several months ago when the level of the dialogue in some papers deteriorated, I thought of writing a legal research on the freedom of opinion, its inevitability and its controls. The objective of the research was, truly, not to impound opinions but to protect them from the pitfalls of legal censure. I then decided not to publish the article so that this or that may not be said. I decided to keep the article for myself. Therefore, I can review the freedom of opinion briefly and clearly from the legal aspect.

First, what has been said about the Court of Cassation rulings is not true because the court was founded in 1930. Regarding what has been quoted from Dr 'Imad al-Najjar, who is not basically concerned with the freedom of expression but is a professor in another branch. There is nothing to discuss here except that Dr al-Najjar makes it conditional that what is published represents the truth, meaning that for freedom of opinion to gain immunity and the right to criticize, what is said must be true. This means that Dr al-Najjar wants it with a fundamental condition. I may begin by referring to article 45 of the constitution which states that "the freedom of the citizens' private life is protected by the law." This applies to all citizens, big and small. It is legally wrong to say that a person's private life is open to criticism. No, never. A person's public life and public conduct is subject to criticism but his private life is protected by the constitution. The constitution has excluded nobody from this protection. All citizens, regardless of their legal position, are also protected from the crimes of insult and slander. If we return to the freedom of opinion or of expression, I am using here the word right and not license because in the law a right is more strongly protected than a license--this is a subsidiary issue--what I want to say is that there are three restrictions on every right.

#### Society's Values and Public Ethics

The first restriction is that the right be within the limits of the state's general law and public ethics. No right may be used to exceed the general law, and this is fundamental, or society's values and public ethics. If excess occurs, then the right is prohibited and its use is no longer permissible.

The second restriction consists of the stipulations of the various laws, regardless of who has enacted them. Moreover, legists call for the intervention of the law to protect society from the chaos of the freedom of opinion. Even if the law does not intervene, jurisprudence unanimously calls for intervention by the law.

The final point is the question of the extent to which the right may be used. We have a well-known article in the law which regulates the use of all the

stated rights, namely article 5 of the civil law which applies to all rights, regardless of their position. This article states that the use of a right becomes illegal, meaning that it loses its immunity, in three cases:

First, if the right is used only to harm others. Rights are not given to people so that they may use them to harm others.

Second, if the right is used so that the user may acquire a small benefit.

#### Illegal Use of Right

If the rights are used to produce a small financial benefit or interest while causing grave harm to others, the use of such rights becomes illegal.

The third case is when the motive for using this right is illegal.

These are the three cases in which the use of the right is restrained and I believe that these cases apply to what we are discussing.

This is a legal point which I have wanted to clarify, not to impose a restriction on anybody but to protect against excesses because no one is immune to accountability before the law. Thank you.

Mahmud Basyuni

The floor was then given to Mahmud Basyuni who said:

There is no doubt that we denounce any excess of any kind and from any pen whatsoever, regardless of the status of this pen, by virtue of our traditions, customs, ethics, religion and values. Such an excess must be the object of general denunciation stemming from here and from our various social institutions. There is no doubt that what is desired primarily is a moral denunciation of every excess of all sorts because an excess is a form of debasement that is more dangerous to future generations than it is to this generation, as some of the colleagues have said. This generation has lived through events on which every individual has a positive or negative opinion or political position. But as for the legacy we will leave the [future] generation, it is very perplexing because the judgments on this legacy are extremely contradictory and the opinions are extremely varied.

#### Excess Against Homeland Is Unacceptable

This is why I find it necessary for us to denounce every excess, especially excesses against the homeland, against Egypt. Such excesses against the national events, such as the October war, are unacceptable because I consider this war the only victory we have achieved throughout this century. We must praise this victory, must not disregard our glorious feats, must be proud of them and must leave our children a legacy of which they will be proud. We must condemn and denounce every excess, whether committed in the book, in what has been published about it or in the comments or replies that have gone too far, in order that we may be fair. Excesses from all sides are rejected.

There remains another thing, namely the concept which we all have and which the esteemed counselor has underlined regarding the objective of the freedom of expression, namely the objective of attaining the truth. I don't consider what has been written a history but a personal opinion, undoubtedly. History is not at all written this way and not by a side with opposite stances. We consider, as I have already said, this is a personal opinion reflecting the writer's view. The same applies to whomever answers this opinion because he answers from the same starting point and with a different opinion.

There remains after this the issue of truth and falsehood and of what has been mentioned in this book as events and facts. I propose that this book be approached the way other books published in Egypt and dealing with other leaders have been approached. Factfinding committees were formed, either by the People's Assembly or by other circles, to examine the book's contents.

Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim

Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim, chairman of the Higher Press Council, then said:

At present and under the canopy of the existing constitution, the Higher Press Council, not any other establishment, is the custodian [al-hafiz] and the controller of the press.

Mahmud Basyuni: I am speaking within the framework of the Higher Press Council. However, I wanted to cite other precedents.

This book has been published at Arab and international levels and parts of it have been published in Egypt. We all denounce the question of dragging ancestors, fathers or mothers into the issue even though it is a right to examine the public figure. But this examination must analyze the public figure's personality and history, bringing into the picture any family affair that has an influence on this personality's political decision or policies and steering clear of anything that does not have an influence on his policy, regardless of who the public figure is.

#### Arab Personalities Have Denied These Events

Therefore, I propose that a committee be formed to study what has been mentioned as events and facts so that the truth may surface. Moreover, there have been replies from a number of Arab personalities denying some of the events. If these events are left alone without a reply, it is possible that they will prevail.

I repeat my proposal that the historical events cited in this book as facts be studied and that the replies belying them be gathered to counter what has been published. What I mean is that we should not let one side dominate writing fundamental historical material insofar as the facts are concerned. Some of the mentioned facts must be scrutinized and replies must be solicited from the living people concerned whose names have been mentioned so as to make clear what is true and what is false. Thank you.

Council chairman: You have mentioned quite a few things which are tantamount to no more than a bilateral dialogue between a living man and a dead man. How can the truth be reached in this regard?

Salah Muntasir: I believe that we have taken a long time discussing this issue.

Council chairman: There is nothing to prevent us from taking even a longer time in discussing this issue because there is no more vital issue preoccupying the council.

Salah Muntasir

The council chairman then gave the floor to Salah Muntasir, the chief editor of AL-AHRAM who said:

The fact is that insofar as I am concerned, the talk about Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal has its special precautions, especially since I worked with him as a subordinate for 18 years and as a reader for 30 years. I believe that in his journalistic work, Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal was more than just a writer. I will not be exaggerating if I say that he was a partner in power by virtue of the position he attained. I believe that is is to Haykal's credit, not vice versa, that he was able to reach the ruler and to command his attention. Therefore, I believe that the information that he has put in his book, unwittingly, condemns him and not others. But his saying now that all this information--whether concerning [al-Sadat's] selection to the Free Officers Organization, later to the Constituent Committee, then as vice president of the republic or as president of the republic happening, accidentally, inadvertently or by mistake, and all the complexes and all the treasonous and subservient past he has mentioned and so forth--Haykal either knew and did not notify others, knew and participated or knew and waited to take advantage of his knowledge but was not able to do so and when he failed to utilize this knowledge he turned into a hostile, not friendly, witness. Therefore, the issue is one of dialogue concerning the freedom of expression. Where was freedom when Haykal knew all this information?

This is the moral issue and the moral part on which I have wanted to focus.

As for the second part, I am one of those who believe in discussing history, Rather, I am thirsty for historical knowledge, Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal was tied to President 'Abd-al-Nasir, and he is entitled to this. If we demand to include to the minutes of the session the part or the chapter concerning the roots, then I demand that we also include in the minutes of the session the book which Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal wrote under the title of "For Egypt, Not For 'Abd-al-Nasir." In this book, Haykal answers all the criticism directed at President 'Abd-al-Nasir. I demand this so that there may be a comparison between those who criticized 'Abd-al-Nasir and his actions and what Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal has written concerning President al-Sadat and, consequently, so that the writer may be evaluated by what he has written, not by what others have written.

What I want to add after this is that Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal himself has said in the prelude to his book: "I thought of writing this book while I was in jail." This statement reveals the intentions of the writer who suffered from imprisonment--and this is natural.

#### There Are Those Who Suffered Worse in Jail Than Did Haykal

What I fear most is that there are those who suffered in jail before and after Haykal more than Haykal did. Consequently, the path that Haykal has taken in his historical study must tempt others to follow the same path. We will thus witness in the future something different from what we are accustomed to in the writing of history.

My opinion is that history must be written. But there are bridges and shores that lead us to writing history. I fear, and I believe, that Haykal has incriminated himself before others in his book because he knew and did not inform us of what he had known until he was jailed. This is first. Second, this is a path that may lead us in the future to discussing our leaders' history in the same manner, without shame and without censure, unless the Higher Press Council takes a stance in the face of this book. Thank you.

Salah Jalal

Salah Jalal, the Journalists Union chairman, then spoke, saying:

The general tendency has become clear and I want to submit a specific proposal in this regard. It is obvious that we are not against the freedom of expression and not inquisition courts and we are not concerned with a personal issue detonated by Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal's book and the articles of Yusuf Idris. The disease is latent and chronic in our press society. Whenever a president departs or an official leaves power, the pens shred him to pieces.

This is why I propose that a committee comprised of two or three of the gentlemen members of the council be formed to draft a statement in which we condemn degeneration, the settlement of personal accounts and digging up the history of the dead, regardless of whether it is President 'Abd-al-Nasir or President Anwar al-Sadat. As 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi has said, some of those who answered Haykal have, regrettably, stooped lower than he has. Those who have criticized digging up Anwar al-Sadat's grave had dug up 'Abd-al-Nasir's grave because it is a matter of settling personal accounts.

We are for the freedom of expression. But we are also for Egypt's reputation and victories, for values and for morals. They are indivisible. Morals and ethics are not for 'Abd-al-Nasir, for al-Sadat or for the head of the state but for the people. Attacking people's honor in the press at home and abroad is something which we must condemn, whether the person attacked is the head of the state or somebody else. We must say that what applies to 'Abd-al-Nasir also applies to Anwar al-Sadat and to everybody who is in power or out of power.

#### Against Digging up Graves

This is why we want to emerge with general values and don't want to get emotional over a certain book and then remain silent over the rest of the malady and



the disease. We must also not get emotional over a certain occasion and keep quiet on others. We must declare that the Higher Press Council is for the freedom of honest and committed opinion and against the digging up of the graves of the dead. We must declare that it rise above this method and that we will be firm with all, be they supporters or opponents because if the opposition has made a mistake, then there are also supporters who have made a mistake in their method of discussion. We conclude by proposing that the council issue a constructive statement that is not emotional or tense and that does not point fingers at a particular individual but that consists of general principles applied to all, including Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal. I have expressed my opinion on what I read about the roots in the first chapter of Haykal's book and I have denounced what I read, as has the Journalists Union. The union has also denounced the statements of Yusuf Idris and denounces the words of all those who have written on this issue in a base and low manner. This baseness and stooping low is common to the two sides that have dealt with this issue. Most of those who have tackled the issue have stooped low and most of them have harmed the defense for al-Sadat. Defending al-Sadat does not mean demeaning the Egyptian people. Al-Sadat cannot be defended in a base manner. Nor can he be defended by impounding freedom. Thank you.

Makram Muhammad Ahmad

The floor was then given to Makram Muhammad Ahmad, the chief editor of AL-MUSAWWAR and chairman of the Board of Directors of al-Hilal Publishing House:

I believe that we are truly facing a serious issue. This serious issue has not developed today but is, as Salah Jalal has said, an old and chronic malady. Regrettably, it is not the journalists and writers who have started this [trend] which began with members of the Revolution Command Council. 'Abd-al-Latif al-Baghdadi says in his memoirs: "The 23 July revolution corrupted the Egyptian Army finally and completely as of the first day." We also find 'Isma'il Fahmi, who participated in determining al-Sadat's political options, disavowing those options in the middle of the road. Furthermore, we find Muhammad Ibrahim Kamil, who was appointed minister of foreign affairs after [al-Sadat's] initiative, say: "I learned of the initiative only when I was ambassador in Bonn and I had not been able to form a complete opinion on it."

#### Personal View of History

We also find a truly fearful wave and a race for publishing the memoirs of anybody who claims that his memoirs are history or a view of history. In most cases, the memoirs concern the writer's personal viewpoint or his personal tendencies.

I agree that if a writer writes his work within the framework of history, then we must judge this work by the criteria of history and must ask the author if he was or was not in the position of full knowledge.

Was he impartial or not and what method did he follow in writing history?

The same sensitivity which tied our work at a certain period of time with Haykal might perhaps be a relative restriction. I will try to rise above this re-



striction. I believe that Haykal has taken a completely wrong course and that he has chosen his course carefully and intentionally because nobody at all interprets history nowadays according to the school of psychological analysis. Nobody can interpret the history of an area, a people or of such an extremely complex and intense leader like al-Sadat within the framework of the complex of color, poor ancestry or poor mother. This kind of talk and this school of studying history has become totally extinct. However, I say that as a Higher Press Council our work must be characterized by objectivity--and it is truly our right--and all of us have not really read this book and if some have done so, then they have only read the published chapters of the book. I know that what has been published is enough to provoke emotions. But to have the book author say that this book is history--and this is the harder and more lasting task in safeguarding values--then a committee should be formed by the Higher Council to find out whether this book's place is in history or in a trash can. This is first.

#### Dividing Society into Sadatists and Nasirists

Second, I totally agree that the disease is a chronic one. I am really surprised by this determination on the part of some of us, if not most of us, to divide Egyptian society incorrectly into Sadatists and Nasirists. I am sorry to say that they are now talking about al-Sadat but did not open their mouths when 'Abd-al-Nasir was accused of stealing and they did not at all criticize those accusations. Al-Sadat himself formed a committee on this [to investigate the accusers]. I believe that Egypt is bigger than to be ruled from 'Abd-al-Nasir's grave or from al-Sadat's grave. I also believe that the future Egypt is worthier of our concern. It is true that neither 'Abd-al-Nasir nor al-Sadat have a special sanctity because they ruled Egypt and it is the duty of anybody to say his word about them, proved that the word is respected, that what is said relies on the objective facts and that what is personal is kept out of the issue.

I believe that what has been published about the roots, at least, requires that we form a committee to study the issue because I cannot imagine how we, as a mature scientific establishment and as a strong political establishment, will be viewed if we issue a judgment on a book which most of us, I believe, have not read. I fear for the reputation of the Higher Council if we rush this issue.

I also believe that the statement should be issued because these are yesterday's battles and yesterday's men who want to settle personal accounts among themselves. If we don't turn our attention to the future Egypt and to Egypt's problems--and we have a lot bigger problems than this problem, including the problem that we will not be able to feed the Egyptians in 10 years and the problems of the youth whom we taught certain values under the Nasirist cloak and other values under al-Sadat and whom we have now left prey to the market laws and to supply and demand while we are all accusing each other that so and so was the corrupter or such and such was the corrupter whereas we are all partners in this crime.

I find it necessary to second the proposal made by 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi, knowing that his prime motive is an impartial motive because he resents seeing the language of dialogue decline to this level.

Regrettably, we have not read one word of real criticism of Haykal's book. I believe that had Haykal's book been subjected to true criticism, such criticism would have been enough for a reply. It is also regrettable that this wave and this constant beating of the drums have, I am afraid, perhaps turned into some sort of sympathy for the writer. We must abandon the idea of all of us playing the same tune. Our stances must be actually based on a scientific view of reality and of what has really happened and must be fair to all of Egypt, not just to one individual. They must be based on the interest of Egypt's future not the interest of two groups disputing and competing for no issue. Thank you.

#### We Are Not A Judiciary Committee

Tharwat Abazah: Mr Chairman, we are not a judiciary committee and neither are we a court examining....

Council chairman: And we are not a scientific council.

Tharwat Abazah: And we are not a scientific council and we are not discussing this book or what the Kuwaiti AL-QABAS has published in particular. We, as the frontline of the Egyptian press, should express our opinion on what has been actually published in our Egyptians papers. I believe that forming committees and bringing to trial is totally beyond our jurisdiction. I believe that if we want to form a history committee, then we will only find among us Dr Husayn Mu'nis to form a committee by himself. This is unreasonable.

I believe that what is worth doing now is that the council issue a statement consisting of a few words and requiring no committee or anything of the sort to denounce what has been published to undermine the reputation of people through their private life, not their public life which is subject to discussion. We denounce the attack on Egyptian sentiments and on blood relatives, be they fathers or mothers. We also denounce what has been said about the Egyptian people being a toy and believing the comedies performed during the October war--a war in which tens of thousands were killed--and about even the Western peoples being doped.

I believe that the council is supposed--and this is a proposal I am honored to present to you--to issue a short statement expressing its opinion on what has been actually published and not on the book, because this book is not a historical excerpt, and not on what has been published abroad because we are not responsible for what is published abroad. The statement should reflect the viewpoint of the Egyptian press, or of the Higher Press Council, on what has been actually published. Thank you.

Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr

The floor was then given to Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr, a former minister of religious trusts, who said:

When I turned to the Press Council and entreated it to say its word, I hoped through this that it will correct a position reflecting the Egyptian public opinion through the press people here. Therefore, I ask for nothing more than

to have the public opinion here, consisting of the press people and the legalists, denounce what has been published in attack on so and so and such and such and also denounce what Egyptian writers are publishing abroad, tearing apart Egypt's front and hurting its national feeling, with this denunciation constituting an opinion on what has passed and on what may happen in the future so that all people may know that Egypt, represented in its prominent journalists here, is displeased with this action and denounces it. Thank you.

Council chairman: Is there anybody else who wishes to speak?

Makram Muhammad Ahmad

Makram Muhammad Ahmad requested and was given the floor:

I did not at all mean to say that the council should not issue a statement. I have asked that the statement be issued in comment on the chapter concerning [al-Sadat's] roots and that we postpone stating our opinion on the whole issue until it is studied by a committee.

If the council will permit me to add something, I propose that if a statement is issued, then it should contain a special paragraph on the October war issue because this issue does not belong to al-Sadat, to 'Abd-al-Nasir or to any of us. It belongs to the Egyptian people and when one of our writers, who lacks even the minimum information, says that the Deversoir gap and the Deversoir bridge had been built on the Bitter Lakes coast before the battles, then this means that there was in Egypt a huge column of traitors who had built the bridge to help the Israelis.

I hope that we will say something on this because this is more serious and important than all that is provoking our emotions today. Thank you.

Council chairman: Is there anybody else who wishes to speak because I want to give everybody the opportunity to do so in order that it may not be said one day that the council did not give somebody the opportunity to speak?

[Name not mentioned] I propose that the council office issue a statement, provided that Makram Muhammad Ahmad and Salah [Jalal] join it and that the statement is issued quickly.

Council chairman: The council office does not issue statements. The council issues statements.

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi: The office can be entrusted with issuing the statement after we agree on the points.

Formation of Drafting Committee

Council chairman: The prevalent opinion among the gentlemen members is that the council issue a statement. For the council to issue a statement, we must chose a small number of members from among us to draft the statement to be presented to the council in order to express its opinion on it.

Therefore, I propose to you, gentlemen, that we form a committee consisting of a small number of members to meet alone for one quarter of an hour to draft a statement to be presented to the council today so that the council may express its opinion on it.

I also propose to you that the committee include Hafiz Mahmud for more than one consideration, first by virtue of his being chairman of the council's Journalists and Press Affairs Committee and, second, because he is the journalists doyen. I also propose that 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi join this committee in order that we may benefit from his pen. I further propose that the committee be joined by Sabri Abu-al-Majd in his capacity as the council secretary general and Dr Ahmad Salamah so that the statement may be sound legally. The door is open for whomever wants to join the committee so that it may not be said that we have rigged this committee.

Do any of the gentlemen members wish to join the drafting committee for one quarter of an hour?

Salah Muntasir: I propose that Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq or Wahid Ghazi join the committee.

Council chairman: You may propose that you join the committee. I open the door for whomever wishes to join the committee to ask to do so personally. The door is open and whoever wants to join the committee may please express his wish.

Makram Muhammad Ahmad: We approve formation of the committee as proposed. But there remains what we may call the main parts to be dealt with by the statement.

Council chairman: Do you, sir, wish to join the committee?

Makram Muhammad Ahmad: No, because I will not be in an impartial position that actually enables me to operate in the committee.

Council chairman: All the main parts included in the spirit of the council's discussion have become clear to the drafting committee. This is a first point.

Second, who will issue the statement?

Makram Muhammad Ahmad: The council will issue the statement but this [discussing of the main parts of the statement] is for the purpose of saving the council time.

Council chairman: If you wish to discuss the draft, then this is your right.

Is there anybody who wishes to join the drafting committee?

(Nobody expressed such a wish)

Council chairman: Formation of the committee as proposed is approved. The committee will meet separately for 15 minutes and then return with a draft statement. Those who approve raise their hands.

(Approval given)

Council chairman: We now adjourn the session and the council will reconvene in 15 minutes.

The session was adjourned at 1450 and reconvened half an hour later when the drafting committee had prepared the statement.

Council chairman: In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate, the council is now reconvened.

Draft statement prepared by the committee formed by the council.

In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate:

The Higher Press Council, having discussed what was published recently in some papers on the private life of the late leader Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat and on the October war victories, having heard the opinions of all its members and having studied the articles of the constitution, of the press authority law, of the Journalists Union law and of the press code of honor, denounces all that has been published because of its incompatibility with the bright historical facts, its encroachment upon the inviolability of the dead, its dealing with their private life, its violation of society's religious, ethical and professional traditions and its attempt to deface the Egyptian army's glorious feats and the Egyptian people's heroism.

The council, while being fully eager for the freedom of the press which constantly seeks to publish the facts and information with utter objectivity, urges all journalists to uphold the deep-rooted traditions of their profession in their debate and discussion methods and in publishing the facts without distortion. It is a sublime profession whose rules, traditions and dignity they are asked to uphold, and this is a primary responsibility. Accordingly, the council condemns the method to which colleagues Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal and Dr Yusuf Idris have resorted. The Council also condemns whomever follows this path.

Are there any observations on this draft statement?

Salah Muntasir: The word "colleagues" makes it sound as if the two are members of the council.

Council chairman: Let it be "journalists." Do you approve this amendment before we ask for general approval?

(Approval given)

Salah Muntasir

Salah Muntasir, the chief editor of AL-AHRAM, then said:



The second point concerns "publishing the facts without distortion." I also believe that this is extraneous because the mere facts cannot be published, meaning that there are intentions. I know of no correction for this but I still pause before it. "Publishing the facts without distortion" is a matter of judgment. I believe the phrase should read "without intentional distortion" because there are good intentions. In comments or in anything else, the intent may not be to clarify or distort the facts. However, there is a kind of pre-meditated distortion, as Mr Sabri has made clear.

Council chairman: "Without intentional distortion." It is proposed that the word "intentional" be added.

Makram Muhammad Ahmad: I believe that the statement does not reflect the spirit of what has happened in the meeting. We have also condemned the dialogue which is being managed in this manner in the Egyptian press by all inclinations. We have, moreover, condemned the fact that this is an old and continuous line and that it is a process of constant distortion.

Council chairman: There is a difference between "we" condemned and you personally condemned.

Makram Muhammad Ahmad: I am speaking of my position and expressing my personal reservations on this statement.

Council chairman: Then we will record that you have expressed personal reservations in the session.

Makram Muhammad Ahmad: At least the atmosphere of the general agreement inside the council today has included the low dialogue embarked upon this issue by all the sides.

The statement does not reflect this. If I may express my personal reservations, then they concern two things:

The first is the fact that we have actually dealt with one situation without considering its past roots or future expectations.

Second, we have not tried to warn Egyptian journalists that these are not Egyptian society's real battles and that Egyptian society's real battles are Egypt's future, Egypt's reflection and so forth.

Council chairman: We asked you, sir, to join the drafting committee. You expressed a personal viewpoint during the discussion and a large number of the gentlemen members expressed their personal viewpoints. If every individual who has uttered a phrase or expressed a meaning or an idea is eager to have the statement include this phrase or this idea, then we will not be able to crystallize the council's general tendency.

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi

The floor was again given to 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi who said: If brother Markram sees that the statement is inadequate, then he should propose the

addition of an explanatory phrase or paragraph. He has also urged the journalists to abide by certain ethics of dialogue.

The phrase "and let them concern themselves with the Egyptian people's fateful issues" may be added. I propose that Mr Makram's suggestions be turned into proposals.

Council chairman: Mr Makram's reservation is negative. If he wishes to turn it into a positive stance, then let him propose something specific to be added to the statement.

Muhsin Muhammad: I have a specific proposal, namely that the statement be presented for approval and that the matter be put to the vote.

Dr Husayn Mu'nis: I believe that all the discussions that have taken place today and the words delivered are extremely important. May I propose that this statement be published and that then the minutes of this session be published in full in the papers a day or two later so that all the ideas expressed may be presented to the people.

Council chairman: Let us vote on this after voting on the statement.

Salah Jalal: I beg that the phrase "the council urges all journalists to focus on the Egyptian people's fateful issues and to steer clear of settling personal accounts" be added because all that has taken place is tantamount to no more than the settling of personal accounts.

Council chairman: The meaning is included, Mr Salah.

#### Focusing on Fateful Issues

Salah Jalal: The meaning included is that we condemn the journalists who have embarked on verbal battles these days. I believe that we should add that the emphasis of the press must be on the fateful issues because devoting attention to such matters [verbal battles] is tantamount to leading the press away from its original objective, namely serving the Egyptian people's fateful issues, not only defending or attacking a ruler, a president or a book.

The fundamental point is that in recent years, the press has been focusing on numerous marginal issues. On this occasion, we, as a Press Council, say that this is wrong. These [verbal battles] are not all the fundamental issues of the Egyptian people.

Council chairman: I beg you to put what you propose in writing so that we may take a vote on it.

Let us read the statement again because it is beneficial to do so in order that it may be issued by the council. This is a document.

(Council chairman reads the statement again)

Council chairman: The phrase proposed for addition by Mr Jalal is: "The council urges our journalist colleagues to devote their attention to the Egyptian people's fateful issues and to their problems which are numerous, complex and require all the efforts of the Egyptian press and all the space of its pages." Those who approve the addition please raise their hands.

"A minority"

Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr: I believe that we should add a word or phrase that realizes Mr Jalal's proposal, namely "journalists should focus on fateful issues."

Council chairman: We have taken the vote on Mr Jalal's proposal and the council has not approved it.

Are there other observations?

You may add another proposal and whoever wants to add something let him do so in writing so that we may take a vote on the addition.

Samir Rajab: It is my opinion that the phrase containing the names of Hasanayn Haykal and Dr Yusuf Idris is too far down in the statement and should be ahead of the other phrases because we have thus killed most of the discussions that have taken place.

Salah Muntasir: I beg the chairman to read again the first lines of the statement.

Council chairman: In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate:

The Higher Press Council, having discussed what was published recently in some papers....

Salah Muntasir: I would like to say here "quoting foreign sources" because "what was published in the press" means that it was published internally, not quoted from outside sources. This is the point I wanted to add.

Council chairman: How do we know that it was quoted from outside sources? How can we know this? It has been published, and this is the important thing. How do we know that it was published abroad or copied from an original?

'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sharqawi: The "publishing" concerns what was published here.

Council chairman: Let us take the vote. There is a proposal to vote on the statement in its present form. Those approving the statement please raise their hands.

(A majority)

The proposal made by Dr Husayn Mu'nis to permit publication of the minutes of this session because the rule is that the minutes are not published. Those approving the proposal please raise their hands.

(A majority)

Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr: I believe that nothing should be published before publication of the minutes and that the press should abide by publishing the minutes in full.

Council chairman: We are taking the vote on publishing the minutes and we will try to write the minutes quickly.

(Approval)

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CSO: 4504/370

HAYKAL DISCUSSES FURIOUS REACTION TO LATEST BOOK ON AL-SADAT REGIME

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 27 Apr 83 p 6

/Interview with Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal by Salah 'Isa: "Muhammad Hasanayan Haykal Faces a Tempest of Provocation over 'Autumn of Fury'; date and place not specified]

/Text/ I was amazed when Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal met me with a broad smile. The tranquility that dominates the chamber of his office seemed to me in total contradiction with the tempests of provocation which have been blowing from the government's papers over his book "Autumn of Fury" for almost 2 weeks, in the course of which hundreds of military communiques have been issued against the writer and his book, with more to come.

He said, in response to my observation "The attacks on 'Autumn of Fury' that have been published in Egypt alone are so far three times its own size, and I predict that the campaign will go on and escalate until it gets to be 20 times the size of the book!"

I said, "It appears that your smile is stronger than the tempests!"

The Attack on a Ghost

Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal said,

"In fact, there is no tempest. All that exists is in the heads of the people who are angry, making provocative statements, and raging. I believe that they appear strange to people. We are in reality witnessing a first-class farce. You have before you a group of angry agitated people provoking the public against me and the book, interrogating them, defrauding them, embarrassing them, falsifying their statements, and directing them to attack a book, though none of the people who are attacking it have read it in full. Almost none of the people who are reading the attack have learned anything from it!

"The attack on 'Autumn of Fury' is an attack on a ghost; the seven foreign editions of the book came out this 24 April, and the Arabic edition will not come out before the middle of May. What has been published in the Arab world does not exceed one quarter of the book. What are the commentators commenting about? What book are they attacking? Isn't that a farce? Am I the person



who has betrayed the allegiance to the pen, or are the people who want to appropriate my right to write, an appropriation which extends from inside the country to all the frontiers of the world, the ones who are betraying this allegiance? Am I the one who has violated the code of press honor, or is it the people who have done so, and are doing so, the people who are attacking what they have not read, and inciting the appropriation of books and ideas? Once again, isn't that a farce?"

/Question/ But you, Mr Haykal, had expected this attack on the book, and you previously talked to me about your expectations before the attack started. Indeed, you specified the timing of it, and I can testify that your prophecy has been correct in all details.

/Answer/ That is also attested to by the foreword to the international edition of the book, which you have published in AL-AHALI, where I anticipated that the book would stir up onslaughts of furious attacks. In the foreword to the Arabic edition, there is a stringent, assertive reference to the storm to come; the matter did not require foresight, but rather just a glance at the facts!

The fact is that I have not been distressed by the concentrated attack that has been launched against me. Rather, what has distressed me the most has been a well-intentioned attempt to stand by my side, which was given the title "Haykal Defends Himself." Unfortunately, things did not happen that way. In spite of my appreciation for the sound motives of the people who said it, I do not need self-defense, because the subject of the case is "Autumn of Fury;" the book has been confiscated, and therefore there is no case at hand.

/Question/ The fact is that we in AL-AHALI were governed by an attitude of optimism, and we considered that the publication of your book and the discussion of its contents would give some indication of the health of the climate of democracy in Egypt now. It appears that we were excessively optimistic!

/Answer/ You of course know that I was not informed in advance of AL-AHALI's intention to try to publish the book; I learned just 2 days beforehand that you have an arrangement with the newspaper AL-WATAN to obtain the chapters to the book. I will not hide from you the fact that I appreciated that on your part and was thankful for it within myself. You were thereby taking a gamble. I was sure that some interference would occur in some form at some moment, and certainly did not imagine that the publication of the book would be completed. As I talk about the rights of freedom, I cannot forget to judge actual events, or I would be abandoning myself to a mirage. I appreciated and was grateful for the fact that by publishing the chapters of the book you would be giving up large areas of your paper, which is a party paper, to a writer who does not belong to the party, and consequently is not committed to its general policies.

/Question/ AL-AHALI sees no contradiction between the fact that it is a party newspaper and the fact that it gives everyone with important opinions a chance to express himself on its pages, however great the difference between us and

the people who hold those opinions might be. It tried to publish your book, because people have the right to read, and this does not entail the appropriation of their rights; AL-AHALI has the right to disagree with the writer. Proceeding from the same premise, we have sought to hear your response to the attack.

/Answer/ I must be frank with you, and state that I do not reply to attacks. If the dialogue is objective, I am prepared for it. However, when it becomes a matter of curses and invective, the situation is different. Some things people wrote about me constitute blatant libel. Some of my friends who are lawyers have asked me to file a libel suit. I held a discussion with them at length, and I reached the opinion that I could not be a party to anything, even a litigation, with some people. That is not just a matter of pride--it is also a matter of dignity. I do not consider that what has been said about me, especially by the people who have said it, can cause me harm, rather, to the contrary.

#### The Struggle for Survival

/Question/ Why did you anticipate the attack on the book in Egypt?

/Answer/ I knew that the attack on me and the book would be based on the argument of loyalty and concern for the memory of past events, including the inviolability of the dead. That is claim for justice whose aim is fraudulent. The fact is that there are interests, people's destinies and fates that want protection for themselves and not Anwar al-Sadat. Just yesterday an ordinary Egyptian citizen saw me and greeted me in a tone of encouragement, telling me, "Don't be afraid of anyone. The whole truth is obvious to people. The truth is in the dock; we all see it in 'Isamat al-Sadat and we don't need anything more than that." What this ordinary citizen told me is the truth, pure and simple. With the circumstances supporting the verdict which he issued, a judge of integrity has written a new history of the judiciary, and has turned a law whose goal originally was to be an instrument of oppression into a category of justice that is clearer and plainer than anything that could be said by a book I might write, or that someone else might write.

The circumstances supporting the verdict were crucial for the thinking of the entire age, but the remnants of the forces and groups that benefitted from that era are still fighting the battle for their survival, and I imagine that what I said in "Autumn of Fury" will touch many sensitive nerves as far as these forces and groups go. When I learned of the decree confiscating "Autumn of Fury" for security reasons, I was prepared to understand, and indeed to seek out the pretexts for, the decree, in spite of my sorrow over it. I can confess to you that I smiled when one person, informing me of the proscription decree, added that there was a story titled "The Sun Also Rises."

There also are people, professional writers, who have seized the opportunity to settle what they consider scores with me. These people say that I was the only writer /allowed to write/ and that I am angry because I have lost that status. I was not the only writer; they all wrote and published.

There is no one among them whom I did not stand beside in the grimmest circumstances, and whom I did not do everything that was in my power to help, although I do not want to do anyone any favors by mentioning them to you in turn by name and telling what I did for them.

#### I Do Not Blame the West

/Question/ However, the attack on the book has gone beyond the people who have interests in Egypt, and Western writers have joined in it. It has also moved over to the West itself. What are the motives for the attack there, in your opinion?

/Answer/ It is not for me to blame the West. That man seemed to them to be a friend who was ready to give them everything they asked, and more, in an area that as far as they were concerned was a source of danger and unrest. When I submitted the manuscript of the book "Autumn of Fury" to a group of international publishers that have the rights to publish my book, I told them "This book will be a shock to readers in the West, and I expect that the comments on it will be severe" and warned them that the American publishers might find difficulty in publishing it because it makes the United States of America, and the media there specifically, responsible for a large part of the circumstances that led al-Sadat to the tragic end he met. I continued to follow the course of the contracts reached over this new book in various languages in the West with an interest I had not felt before. When I realized that one of the greatest American publishing houses, Random House, had hastened to obtain the rights to the book, I felt that professional considerations had prevailed over normal feelings.

The fact is that there is a difference between the American newspapers' treatment of the book and the official Egyptian papers' treatment of it. The American reader reads the book as he reads the criticism of it; the people who have criticized the book in American papers agreed with me over some of its contents and disagreed with me over some other things in it. The American magazine NEWSWEEK, for instance, devoted the whole space allocated to its book section to the book, which shows its assessment of its importance. In discussing it, it said that it did not differ with me over the fact that al-Sadat was lazy and that his regime was corrupt, but it considers that he was a great man because he was a man of peace! The strange thing is that the Egyptian papers that cited the reactions in the American papers cited the reactions in the American papers cited the differences NEWSWEEK had with me, but did not of course cite the views on al-Sadat that it shared with me for their readers' benefit!

/Question/ Do you believe that the Americans who applauded Anwar al-Sadat in the West and attacked the book are really devoted to his memory?

/Answer/ The Americans, in reality, do not deceive themselves. They knew what they wanted to know about him, and took what they wanted to take. As far as their opinion about him goes, you have NEWSWEEK's comment in front of you. The people who attacked me alleged that I said that al-Sadat was a circus

performer, but I did not offer that description; rather, it was Henry Kissinger who did. Why should we go far afield? Let me read you this paragraph from the memoirs of Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was a national security advisor under former president Jimmy Carter the other star in the Camp David trinity:

Brzezinski said, in these words, in that paragraph:

"Of all the foreign political figures Carter dealt with, al-Sadat was the closest to him. It was love at first sight between the two parties. There is not the least doubt that Carter was interested in this fitful, impulsive Egyptian--he represented a temperament that was as remote as could be from that of Carter, who was extremely self-controlled and had a mind that was more accurate than a computer. We often sat together, Carter and I, laughing together over the contradictions that revealed the lack of validity in what al-Sadat was saying, as well as his sweeping conceptions. However, we nonetheless liked his boldness and his historic vision, which was overly full of grand designs. In a meeting I had with al-Sadat, the Egyptian president clapped his hands, they brought a globe which he put in the middle of the room in his house where we were sitting, and he picked up a stick and proceeded to give me a lesson on what American strategy should be. His descriptions were such as to make Theodore Roosevelt (the most famous of the colonialist presidents) seem like a meek lamb." This is what Brzezinski said about al-Sadat, and I imagine that that is an adequate answer to your question!

The Story of the Middle East!

/Question/ Let us move on now from the Western attack to the Arab one. The opening shot in that was the statement the newspaper AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT issued, declaring that it was suspending publication. What exactly is the story?

/Answer/ In actuality, I was not a party to any contractual arrangements with the newspaper AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, or any other Arab or foreign paper. I make contracts with the group of international publishers who publish my books, and I give them all the rights of printing and publication, including publication in the press and radio and television materials, in all languages. I do that because I cannot, in terms of time or effort, follow up on the process of publishing, printing and distribution and the accounting concerning my books in remote countries in various areas of the world. I only impose the condition that publication rights not be sold on my behalf in Israel, and that publication rights not be sold on my behalf in any Arab country where there is a conflict with Egypt. Consequently, the contract prohibits the publisher from selling publication rights on my behalf in Libya, for example, or in other places, in order to avoid touchy feelings, which I am aware of. I admit that I impose this condition because I am timid. As far as "Autumn of Fury" goes, the publication rights to the Arab edition, in book form and in the papers, were bought by a Lebanese publisher who is one of the international publishers, and AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT bought the rights from him.

I was amazed when I learned from the publisher that AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT had chased him down to obtain the publication rights, because the book contains



much criticism of Saudi policy; although there are things I agree with in Saudi policy, the book does address some of these policies critically, and I know that AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT is owned by official Saudi figures.

/Question/ They say that you played a game of cat and mouse with them!

/Answer/ I did not argue with any of them in talking about "Autumn of Fury." When one of the publishers of AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT visited me in my hotel in London in February 1982 and asked me to write weekly articles for them, I begged off and told him that I would lose my freedom to write about Saudi policies. I know from Mr Kamal Adham himself--and he is a wise man--that he was the main stockholder in the al-Sharq al-Awsat Company, before he sold his share to Prince Sulayman, but that the newspaper still ultimately is an official Saudi paper, and I am not deceiving myself. I told him, "I, in any case, do not make contracts to write articles in any newspaper, and I stopped writing articles in the Arab world in January 1980. If I do write any, I will write them in the Kuwaiti AL-WATAN, because President al-Sadat exerted strong official pressure on them to prevent them from publishing my writings, but they rejected all forms of pressure. That makes me feel that there is a literary link between me and them, so what game did I play, then, with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT? I could understand their refraining from publishing, which is their right, but what prompts one's amazement is the unreal reasons they publicize. They say that they refrained from publication because there are insolent statements against the dead and violations of morality in the book. What amazes me is that AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT published the first chapters on the life of al-Sadat, the ones which some people contend hold insolent statements against the dead, then it refrained from publishing when I started to talk about Saudi Arabia's role in al-Sadat's life!

The Saudis Are Sorry!

/Question/ What role specifically did the Saudis play in al-Sadat's life, as you presented it in "Autumn of Fury?"

/Answer/ The book presents a review of the Saudi role in changing the course of the Middle East story, a role which arose out of a personal relationship that developed between President al-Sadat, when he was secretary general of the Islamic Conference, and Mr Kamal Adham, the brother in law of Prince Faysal Al Sa'ud, who later became king. Al-Sadat met him at a dinner party in the home of the famous singer Farid al-Atrash, after which Kamal Adham became a brother in law of the king's and director of Saudi intelligence. His relations with Mr Adham continued to grow, to the point where the WASHINGTON POST published an article on its front page, published during al-Sadat's lifetime, by its current managing editor, Jim Hoagland, stating that Mr Kamal Adham paid President al-Sadat a monthly salary all during the sixties--which is a fact that Sadat did not deny during his lifetime and did not comment on, though indeed he later received the person who wrote about it and gave him interviews. When President al-Sadat became president, Kamal Adham was one of the ones who visited him the most, and concentrated, in his presence, on the extent of the efforts Saudi Arabia was making to draw the United States'



interest in resolving the issue of the Middle East. However, they always clashed over the issue of the Soviet presence in Egypt. President al-Sadat explained to him why he was compelled to rely on the Russians, since the Americans were continuing to supply Israel with arms, and informed Kamal Adham that he was prepared to expel the Soviets if the United States could help bring about the first stage of a withdrawal.

I remember that Mr Kamal Adham spoke to me in 1971 about the need to arrange strong coordination between King Faysal and President al-Sadat, and I was amazed when he said that President al-Sadat wanted to establish direct contact by means of special equipment which would be put in my home and in Kamal Adham's home, so that we two would be the channel of communication between the two men, the president and the king. Since I knew of the link between the American and Saudi intelligence agencies, I declined to accept, and later deduced that this line had started operating from the home of President al-Sadat.

Later, Saudi Arabia, through its relationship with al-Sadat, managed to push him to engage in much conduct which I believe Saudi politicians are sorry about today. They were very anxious about what they called the Soviet danger in the area, wanted to throw the Russians out, and played a part in throwing them out, in terms of weapons, experts and diplomatic relations. It is true that they later financed the purchase of Arab arms, but I am one of those who believe that the Western arms cannot constitute a defense against Israel because they are fit for operations in the Congo, Somalia or the Sudan, while, for every American weapon the Arabs get, Israel receives not an equivalent amount but an amount superior to it, indeed an amount that will obliterate it.

The fact is that through the role they played, the Saudis disrupted the strategic balance in the area, and if we, the Arabs, all ran to the White House during the invasion of Lebanon to ask it to protect us from the Israeli beast, which had been raised in the White House itself, that is the political fruit which Saudi Arabia encouraged al-Sadat to get and some of the price he paid along the rough road that ended on the reviewing stand on 6 October 1981.

It is because of that opinion that AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT suspended publication, which is its right, and I do not quarrel with it over that. It did not need to justify it with allegations about morality and publishing traditions; it did not suspend the publication in defense of values which I did not harm, but out of concern with interests I have nothing to do with.

/Question/ AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has said that it does not want to give you publicity.

Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal laughed and said,

My great appreciation notwithstanding, I imagine that I was the one who was used for publicizing AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, even when the publication was suspended. My articles are published in the SUNDAY TIMES, in the same city where it comes out, and circulate among 3 million readers; therefore I do not

need anyone to provide publicity for me.

/Question/ What is your response to the statement Prince Shaykh al-Mubarak al-Sabah issued, denying the incident you mentioned in your book, where you said that al-Sadat, when he was chairman of the National Assembly in 1966, traveled to Washington and met with the Shaykh there? It appears that he indicated to him that the travel allowance he received was less than it ought to have been, and he wrote him a check for \$35,000.

/Answer/ The fact is that Shaykh Mubarak's statement confirms what I said and does not contradict it. He mentioned that he gave al-Sadat that amount and that that was done with the knowledge and agreement of 'Abd-al-Nasir; this is testimony involving an absent witness. What I do know is that when President 'Abd-al-Nasir learned of the matter, he asked al-Sadat about it, and asked him to give him the check so that he could return it by official channels. He then decided that it would be better for al-Sadat to return it himself. What the Shaykh said in his statement came as a surprise to me, since it is clear from that that the check was not returned to him.

People with Good Intentions!

I asked Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal:

"I agree with you that the attack on the book in the Egyptian papers seems to be a sort of farce, but that does not keep citizens who have good intentions from reading and being influenced, and aberrant conduct on the part of people who are stirring things up does not mean that we should let them pour dirt over the real issues. Therefore, in our opinion, you must reply."

/Answer/ Fine. Ask and I will answer.

/Question/ There are people who have opposed you for discussing Anwar al-Sadat's personal circumstances. They said that the Arab and Moslem reader is not used to reading about these very private sides to the lives of public personalities, as is common in the West.

/Answer/ The people who say that either have not read the books of Arab and Moslem historians, or have a low opinion of the mentality of the Egyptian reader. If they read the books on the good forebears, by historians like al-Maqrizi, Ibn Iyas, Ibn Taghri Birdi and al-Sakhawi, they will find that they all connect the circumstances of the emergence of a ruler with his psychological characteristics which bear on his method of governance. If you review the chapters of the translations of these books, you will find much talk about the origins of the slave sultans and their wives, their appetites, and everything that had an effect on their decisions. Although I am not a historian and do not arrogate to myself the status of these great historians, but am only a journalist writing about what he witnessed and analyzing what he knew, that statement of theirs is not correct. Ordinary Egyptians in all ages never ceased to be interested in the personal conduct of their rulers,

and they are very sensitive from this point of view and sharp to pick up personal traits that are relevant to methods of rule and the methods of administering government.

Thus it is not true that the Arab reader has not been accustomed to reading about his rulers in the way I wrote. People who say that in reality are endorsing a preference for the European reader over the Egyptian one, and stating that the former can deal with his rulers in a manner the Egyptian does not dare to, even after these rulers become historic figures.

/Question/ I suppose that the people who say that confuse the private lives of men who are engaged in public activity with the private lives of ordinary citizens.

/Answer/ That is correct. There is a difference between the public man and the private one. The public man comes forth to speak in the name of the people, acts on their behalf, acts in their interests, and issues decrees that touch upon their everyday lives. Therefore, his conduct, behavior and psychological state, and the factors that have influenced his upbringing, must be the subject of people's attention, and they have the right to know and understand them. As for the private man, the effects of whose conduct are confined to him and his family, no one has the right to be concerned with what is personal in his affairs, except for the people who are directly related to him. Historians have discussed, and still are discussing, the lives of the caliphs, so is it reasonable for anyone to ask us not to discuss the life of a ruler who was not a caliph or a prophet? When an ordinary citizen dies, and he leaves debts to his heirs, the fault lies on them alone, but when a ruler like President al-Sadat assumes the task of ruling Egypt, whose debts are just \$3 billion, then leaves the world with debts amounting to \$25 billion, whose annual servicing alone is equal to \$3 billion--that is, he was a person from the countryside and began his rule there, and yet there are Egyptians who want to deprive us of our right to discuss him. Is it reasonable that every ruler should come and do what he wants, then go, and we should not discuss him during his lifetime or discuss him after he dies? Is this reasonable?

#### Contempt for Poverty

/Question/ Some people who have criticized your book say that you have deliberately shown contempt for poverty and the poor, and that through what you have related about al-Sadat's mother you intended to make fun of him.

/Answer/ That is a biased interpretation of what I wrote. Publication in Egypt was suspended after this chapter. If the readers are given a chance to read that part of the book, they will discover that those are all lies. I did not reproach al-Sadat for his poverty, but I blamed him for the fact that he, who was treated unjustly in his childhood, became partial, when he ruled, to the unjust. I found fault with him for not loving his mother, not respecting her wretched state, and not understanding her sacrifices. That is a fault of his, not hers; poverty is not a fault, that is true, but I did not intend to issue a verdict against poverty--I intended to analyze the effects of the

circumstances of a harsh childhood on a man who ruled Egypt for 11 years and issued decrees that changed the course of the policy of the area. I agree with the people who say that deprivation can give birth to genius, but it also can give birth to something else, and the decisive criterion is the way in which people cope with the deprivation or social oppression they are exposed to.

/Question/ What is the general thrust of your view of the effect of al-Sadat the child on the life of al-Sadat the president?

/Answer/ That is the point they have avoided answering. There is an answer to it in the chapter that you were supposed to have published in AL-AHALI before you were threatened and suspended publication. It is titled "Flight to Illusion" and, if people are given a chance to read it, they will learn that I did not blame Anwar al-Sadat for his poverty, or for his mother's color, but that I just interpreted the way in which he dealt with these circumstances, which he was not the only one to face, and not everyone who is exposed to them is necessarily affected in the same way. At the beginning of this chapter I stated the following, verbatim:

"Anwar al-Sadat put the story of his life in his book, and it was published in the West and in Egypt in 1978 under the title 'The Search for Identity.' Whether the title was one he chose, or one the writer who took charge of putting it together or the publisher who printed it chose, the title seems to be more successful than any of those three could have intended. Which of them, for which end?

"His life on Muhammad Badr Street left him unable to feel affiliation with any place.

"(Perhaps that was one of the reasons that prompted him, even when he became president, to travel constantly. He would not stay put in one place or even in his home in Giza with his wife and children, in spite of the luxurious, happy atmosphere that his wife Jihan later tried to provide for him.)

"He was afraid of his father, and could not convince himself, to his last day, that he loved him. He was angry with his mother, and deep within himself he could not respect the torment of this lady who had such wretched fortune. His resistance to the color he inherited from her, without any real justification, increased.

"(The problem of color played a strange part in the psychological makeup of Anwar al-Sadat. There was nothing to justify that, in reality, especially in Egypt and in the Arab world, where Arab blood has mixed with African blood and races have commingled, but Anwar al-Sadat deep within himself was extremely sensitive to this problem. Perhaps sin became mixed with slavery in his mind. Nonetheless, slavery itself was not the fault of the people who were subject to it, but of others who imposed it on them, and, while the experience of slavery managed to inspire a great writer like Alex Haley to write his great story 'Roots,' Anwar al-Sadat found not a source of inspiration in it, but rather a reason connected to flight even from himself.)



"He yearned for people's affection and understanding, and was prepared to do anything for the sake of obtaining their acceptance and satisfaction."

"(Perhaps in this point there lies an explanation of the way in which he let everyone around him exploit the power of his position later, without trying to stop them at some point. In fact, it graced him with different kinds of luxury which he ought to have turned himself away from, in his capacity as one of the leaders of a revolution which had a social content. In reality, the atmosphere at the summit of power during his regime was transformed into something like the palace of a medieval sultan.)

"His yearning for people's affection, acceptance and approval was in one way or another one of the most attractive aspects of his personality, but the sum of all that made him ultimately ready to give his allegiance to anyone stronger than him whom circumstances placed in front of him. He learned, in any event, how to endure needless shocks and sometimes insults. There was a reaction to every action, a feeling of need for revenge was engendered in the depths of his being for what he had suffered from, and that is what engendered in him the tendency toward repressed violence which was always ready to explode if he felt confident about its outcome. In any event, he had no recourse in those days except to try to escape, and escape constantly to worlds that were made of dreams and illusions."

That is what I said in the book; what statement there can be considered a rebuke of poverty or the mother's coloring, or contempt for anything? Al-Sadat's humble upbringing was not the object of my criticism, explicitly or implicitly, and poverty cannot be the object of my criticism. Rather, I made a connection between his upbringing and his transition, when he was in power, to mingling with the Rockefellers, the Onassis, and the Pahlavis, and to being influenced by their lifestyle. This is something which does not concern al-Sadat--it concerns every citizen in this nation!

It Is Not a Biography of Al-Sadat

/Question/ However, there are some people who hold that you have presented Egypt's tragedy with al-Sadat from a purely personal point of view, and that your book has concentrated not on criticism of al-Sadat's policies but on criticism of his person.

The dominant impression among people is that "Autumn of Fury" is a book about the life of Anwar al-Sadat. Is this impression correct?

/Answer/ The book is not the story of the life of Anwar al-Sadat as a person, and it addresses itself to his life only with respect to the elements that caused him to act in the manner that ended with the bloody confrontation that occurred on 6 October 1981. The subject of "Autumn of Fury" is what happened and what led to the incident on the podium. Al-Sadat's personality is the subject of the first part of the book, and I took these keys to his personality which brought him to the incident of the podium, and presented facts on which I built my analysis. Anyone has the right to tell me that my analysis



is wrong and to analyze as he wishes. Anyone who says that my facts are wrong must show what is right.

The fact is that, regarding why I mentioned about al-Sadat, I relied only on what was written by him, or published in the papers and quoted from him verbatim. The chapter bearing on the worlds of illusion to which he fled, starting with his fondness for acting and his publication of a letter in the papers nominating himself for a leading role in the movies with the old actress Aminah Muhammad, then his liking for the German military and his effort to dress himself in its trappings, then his implication in the adventure of spying for the Germans and, following that, his membership in the Iron Guard, which carried out assassinations on behalf of King Faruq and his shift toward Husayn Tawfiq's group, from the assassination of British soldiers to the assassination of adversaries of the royal palace, and his participation in the first attempt to assassinate Mustafa al-Nahhas, the assassination of Amin 'Uthman, and the second /attempt at the/ assassination of al-Nahhas--in all these facts I have based myself only on statements by Anwar al-Sadat himself, in his exact words.

The Successor to Ramsis

/Question/ What in your opinion was the effect of al-Sadat's flight to illusion on his policies?

/Answer/ That is what the second part of the book deals with. That is titled "The Second Plundering of Egypt," on grounds that the first plundering occurred in the era of the Khedive Isma'il. Carter quoted al-Sadat as telling him, "Some people imagine that I am governing Egypt like 'Abd-al-Nasir's successor, but I am governing Egypt in the manner of the pharaohs, because that is closer to the psychology of the Egyptian people." Carter was astounded by this statement. This fact was related to me by Joseph Kraft, who is one of the most brilliant of American journalists, and he heard it himself from Carter in the presence of Brzezinski. Carter himself referred to it in his memoirs, when he indicated that al-Sadat felt deep within himself that he was a pharaoh of ancient Egypt.

The fact is that Anwar al-Sadat imagined himself the successor to Ramses the Second. In my opinion, he was closer to the Khedive Isma'il, without, unfortunately, the sort of touch of civilization that existed in Isma'il's era, and the plundering that occurred in Egypt domestically and from adventurers from abroad, or from companies and banks, is almost exactly the same as what happened in the era of the Khedive Isma'il. This plundering process continued until the events of 18-19 January 1977.

I considered that the legitimacy of the regime was shaken in 1977, when a system that had all the instruments of government and the media in its hands failed to keep order and resorted to martial law and to bringing the army into the streets because of disturbances related to food. When a regime is unable to win people over or make them obey and is compelled to commit fraud, and the courts rule against it and it resorts to force in its harshest forms,

that means that its legitimacy has been shaken, and, when it wants to strengthen its legitimacy with further repression, resistance moves from the open and goes underground, and the dialogue turns to bombs and machine guns instead of words and speeches from pulpits!

#### The Islamic Fundamentalists

/Question/ That means that you consider that the violence that devoured al-Sadat was one reaction to the violence that he practiced against people in order to impose a legitimacy that had become shattered.

/Answer/ The discussion of the "Islamic fundamentalists" is the subject of the third part of "Autumn of Fury." Fundamentalism was the only vehicle to which one could resort in the search for absolutes and the search for courage. Very many groups of young Moslems in Egypt, after their vision of what was relative and what was real had been shaken, sought to resort to absolute certitudes, and sought faith from them. The subject of Islamic fundamentalism is wholly connected to the problem that flared up between al-Sadat and the Coptic church. That is the subject of the fourth part of the book. Anwar al-Sadat tried to make an alliance with the Islamic groups before they clashed with him, but his attempt to exploit the Islamic current led to another reaction in the Coptic church, whose details I explained in the course of five chapters. This problem is still outstanding, the pope is still in isolation, and the country is threatened by a factional problem of which the people themselves were not the cause.

In the fifth part of the book, I turned to the autumn of fury and what happened then. I related the story of al-Sadat's clash with all the intellectual, social, /illegible/ and religious forces, and the breakdowns which occurred, ending with the incident of the assassination, to which I devoted Part Six. I concluded the book with a look at the future, titled "Where Do We Go from Here?"

Isn't it worth reading all that, before people comment, attack and snatch at a line from the foreword to launch an appeal for the illusory war that is being launched against me?

#### The Glory of October for Whom?

/Question/ Your adversaries say that the book contains derogatory material against the October war and degrades the status of /illegible/ in it. You have depicted it as if it were a play from the world of illusion to which you said al-Sadat had sought refuge and in which he lived.

/Answer/ It is necessary /illegible/ that one distinguish between the October war as a military action and the political management of the war, and the political exploitation of its results. The war, as a military action, was a brilliant achievement by every standard. It is testimony to the Egyptian military, and one of its great achievements. Every page in my book praises the heroism of the ordinary Egyptian citizen in that war, and on that subject I offered a glance at al-Sadat's thinking on the political goals of the war.

However, that is one thing, and the manner by which al-Sadat politically exploited the results of the war is something else. It was on that subject that I had my difference with al-Sadat. It never was a dispute over a legacy, but rather a political dispute over the exploitation of the results of the October victory. I differed with him starting with the first separation of forces agreement at the end of 1973, and expressed the subjects of the dispute in articles which were published in AL-AHRAM, which I collected recently in a book under the title "At the Parting of the Ways."

The fact is that al-Sadat unfortunately did not understand the nature of the struggle in the Middle East, and his notions were therefore inadequate and distorted. There is a document whose lines are in the book, in the handwriting of a great writer, Tawfiq al-Hakim, who was a witness to them, and the great writer Najib Mahfuz also was witness to them.

The story is that when I came back from China in 1973 I found that there was a furore in Egypt over the famous statement by literary figures, which was known as Tawfiq al-Hakim's statement. The literary figures had issued the statement out of solidarity with the students who at that time were demonstrating over exasperation at the continued state of stalemate. After the issuance of the statement, Dr 'Abd-al-Qadir Hatim, who at that time was acting prime minister, summoned Tawfiq al-Hakim, Najib Mahfuz and a third person, and discussed the matter with them in accordance with al-Sadat's orders. Tawfiq al-Hakim was surprised by al-Sadat's attack against him, which was becoming intensified, declaring that he had demanded surrender and no war. When I came back, Tawfiq al-Hakim told me "It appears that my statements in our meeting with Dr Hatim related to the president were not accurate," he wrote a letter in which he clarified the matter, and I published it in my book, in its form in Tawfiq al-Hakim's handwriting, in order to publicize it among people.

I submitted Tawfiq al-Hakim's letter to al-Sadat, and expected that he would disavow what was in it, would deny what Hatim had said, or would state that he was not speaking for him; however, he did not--rather, he asked me if I had a copy of it or not, and, when I accompanied Tawfiq al-Hakim to meet him, he did not offer a word of comment on his letter, and did not deny or disavow a word that Hatim had said. Rather, he proceeded to present him with a model of the new opera project.

Doesn't this statement, which was made in February 1973, before the war, involve the Egyptian military, with its struggles, its sacrifices, its bravery and its innovativeness?

Is this statement heresay? Am I relating an event that dead people witnessed? Tawfiq al-Hakim, may God extend his life, is alive; ask him, and ask Najib Mahfuz!

#### The Talent of the Subordinate

/Question/ It is clear that you in your book consider that al-Sadat is one of those people who possess the "talent of the subordinate," that is, who can submit to the dominance of people who are stronger than them, and that that played

a role in his behavior. Do you think that it is the Egypt of October that sanctified his heroism, so that he /illegible/ to play the part of the top man, after a whole life playing the role of a subordinate?

/Answer/ The problem, in my opinion, is that al-Sadat did not understand what happened in October. In the book I claim that there is an important document, a full page of minutes of secret negotiations between the Israelis and Kissinger, in which Kissinger expresses his amazement that al-Sadat did not use all the cards he had won in the October war. Therefore you will note that after the war he continued to ask for the same things he was asking for before it. In the 4 February 1971 initiative, al-Sadat asked for a partial withdrawal, which is what he asked for again after the war, although the war at that time had changed the balance of power, because of the heroism with which it was carried out and the broad Arab combat alliance that took part in it. However, that alliance proceeded to break down, and we resumed rushing to America, we who in October had achieved a strategic victory in October. That is one of the questions that the book tries to find an answer to.

Where is our strategic victory? That is one of the questions that the book seeks to answer. Where is al-Sadat's promise to us of prosperity in 1980? We, who were in the vanguard of the developing countries, who were a country that had Copts and Moslems, who waged war together--how did conditions deteriorate to this extent? We are a country that was not familiar with violence--how did the era of al-Sadat end, when he was the first pharaoh to be killed by one of his own people?

You say that Anwar al-Sadat, after October, obtained the security he had been lacking. Most unfortunately, that was not the case, and I am not the one who says so. Rather, it is Kissinger who says that al-Sadat did not use all the cards he had in his hand to exert pressure, which he had won from the October victory, and could have used for the Israeli withdrawal to the 4 June 1967 borders. However, as Kissinger said, he had exhausted his patience and was in a hurry, and wanted to see himself entering al-Isma'iliyah, Suez and Port Said, in a victory parade, treated like a victor, and the result was the first and second separation of forces agreement.

Have any of the people who attacked this document, then commented on it, been published?

I Refused To Collude

/Question/ People making provocative statements against the book say that it was issued out of rancor against al-Sadat.

/Answer/ I have no reasons for rancor against al-Sadat. I played a part in his assumption of power after the death of 'Abd-al-Nasir, knowing the causes of his deficiency, and I imagined that he would develop with responsibility, because his problem was a lack of sense of inner security. I imagined that he had acquired that after becoming president, and that it was normal to select him after the death of 'Abd-al-Nasir, which is a view that everyone



who was in a position of responsibility at that time shared. I remained at his side and helped with the policy and media preparation for the October war. I was the one who wrote the declaration of war, and I was with him all during the days of the war, in his home and in the operations room.

I chose to quit working with him. I left him and chose to take my chances and my position simply because I could not collude against the greatest victory the Egyptian army had achieved in modern times. However, I did not cease being a journalist when I left AL-AHRAM, and went out into the wide world; I wrote for the whole world. People now rebuke me for the fact that my books give me a big income, but I say that being rich means going without people. I have continued to live in my country and I have held fast to the idea that there is no home, no work and no grave for me outside Egypt. I have continued to live inside the country of which I am writing.

Thus I have acquired a certain amount of independence for myself which I am not willing to relinquish under any circumstances, and consequently I have not had any motives for rancor.

/Question/ They say that you are "vindictive" because you left your post in AL-AHRAM.

/Answer/ First of all, he did not expel me from AL-AHRAM. He transferred me to be advisor to the president, but I declined; then he offered to make me be a deputy premier, then national security advisor. I declined, and then he offered to let me return to journalism, on condition that I be a committed journalist, but I declined. This is all well known and published.

Let me tell you frankly, but at the same time modestly, that my leaving AL-AHRAM at the time I left it was one of the best things to have happened to me in my life. I had completed the task of building the modern AL-AHRAM and had done everything in my power to see the facts of the struggle in the Middle East clearly. A strange stage was about to begin, the stage of surrendering to American policy. Let me remind you that I am an advocate of a clear, straight, balanced policy toward America, but what happened was different--the stage of liberalization, corruption, repression, then Camp David, then unfortunately the age of the Israeli empire.

How easily I could have been a witness to all this, and defended it!

However, I left AL-AHRAM for the wide world, where I could state my opinion freely to the whole world.

#### A Countervailing Rancor

/Question/ I can testify that that is not true, but, while we were talking about "rancor," I feel that al-Sadat's attack on you was unbelievably violent. Do you have an explanation for that? Do you have an explanation for his famous statement, which he made against you in the September attack, to the effect that you had lived well enough and that his anger over your relations with editors, kings and presidents was great?



/Answer/ In fact, he went so far as to say that I was an atheist, and although I admitted this to you, and was a prisoner in his prison and did not have a chance to reply to his denunciation of me, the fact is that my relationship with him differed greatly from my relationship with 'Abd-al-Nasir. I was a party to a dialogue with 'Abd-al-Nasir, but al-Sadat, who began by welcoming dialogue, ended by no longer being a party to a dialogue with anyone, not with me or with anyone else. Perhaps he sensed the difference between my relationship with him and my relationship with 'Abd-al-Nasir, and perhaps his sense that I had played a role in his assumption of power did not make him happy. Generally people are not happy when they are indebted to someone, and the fact is that he misunderstood many things.

I remember for instance that I differed with him the first time when he got in touch with me shortly after he assumed power and asked me to devote my weekly article, "Speaking Frankly," to Ja'far Numayri. He told me that al-Numayri had said that Haykal had not written about the revolution in the Sudan, and that he had promised him that I would write about it that week. I expressed my amazement to him, and told him that I had no subject to write about in my mind on the Sudan. I added, "I am afraid that you have the idea that 'Abd-al-Nasir spelled out to me what I should write about, but that is not true, and I object to your spelling out to me what I should write about." He said that he wanted to "repair" my relations with Ja'far Numayri, the matter ended at that, and I did not write my article that week.

Al-Sadat imagined that when he transferred me from AL-AHRAM, he had passed a sentence on me that I would never again be a journalist. Therefore, he was angry because I remained a journalist even though I had left AL-AHRAM. It happened, when I met Khomeyni in 1979 in Paris, and the news was published, that he had asked a mutual friend "Why did Muhammad meet Khomeyni?" and, when the friend told him that the meeting took place in my capacity as a journalist, he said, in amazement, "But I removed him!" Not only that, but, when the Shah went to Aswan, he asked al-Sadat about this meeting and whether he had any news about Khomeyni's future intentions in the light of my meeting with him, and al-Sadat said that there was a tradition in Egypt that any journalist who went abroad wrote a report on his meetings. A high official contacted me from Aswan and asked me to write a report, but I refused, and said that I wrote articles, which I published, but had never written a report for anyone in my life, and that what went on in my meeting with Khomeyni was published.

These are facts which are of significance regarding the nature of al-Sadat's conception of journalists. He imagined that journalists were part of the apparatus of the government, and, if they were removed, their work as journalists ended, and perhaps he was extremely vexed because I had left AL-AHRAM but nonetheless remained a journalist--indeed did not ask him for a job and refused the positions he had offered me.

Haykal fell silent a moment before going on:

"I claim that I have not said anything in 'Autumn of Fury' about al-Sadat that I did not say and publish while he was alive. I may have enlarged on what I

said, but that is normal. I condemned the liberalization policies, and the corruption they led to, while he was alive; even while I was in AL-AHRAM I drew attention to the dangers that the arms trade entailed. In my book 'The Road to Ramadan,' I spoke about the political management of the Ramadan war, and I have many books in which I have collected articles which expressed my differences with him, including 'The Solution and the War,' 'The Talk about the Initiative,' 'Letters to a Friend There,' 'For Egypt, Not for 'Abd-al-Nasir,' 'nonexistent Democracy and the Impossible Peace,' and 'At the Crossroads.' There was no rancor between me and al-Sadat, on my part at least, but there were political differences; we have become accustomed to calling political differences rancor, because we do not accept them and avoid discussing them. I repeat that there is nothing in 'Autumn of Fury' that I did not say about al-Sadat when he was alive; I did enlarge on it, which is normal, because the chapters on the political phenomenon of al-Sadat were made complete with the incident of the reviewing stand, and it was natural that it should be brought back to its origins and explained so that people could understand it.

"People ask: 'Why wasn't 'Autumn of Fury' written when al-Sadat was alive?'

"The answer simply is because the autumn of fury had not yet occurred!"

#### The Theory of the Solutions

/Question/ On the subject of the dispute that existed between the two of you when he was alive, what is your explanation of the widespread refrain which al-Sadat propagated that any criticism of his policies was a criticism of and an attack on Egypt? That is a refrain that is now being used to attack your book.

/Answer/ That was part of his pharaonic vision, and one of the illusions of the theory of the solution, that is, the pharaoh who is impregnated with the spirit of the god or the successor to Ramsis, which is a notion that I attacked while he was alive, declaring my rejection of it. The fact is that he sometimes acted as if he was the people, the government, the nation and its history. Therefore, I believe that anyone who tries to exercise responsibility after al-Sadat will find himself in a state of chaos. I claim that there are no single written minutes in the government on the most important contacts Anwar al-Sadat had with many of the world's statesmen. Kissinger, in his memoirs, says that he was very astonished to see Anwar al-Sadat negotiating with him without anyone to write the discussion down, so that it would be an official government document, whereas Kissinger had people with him who did record the meetings. If President Mubarak wants to know exactly what went on, or what Anwar al-Sadat agreed to with Kissinger or many of the people he negotiated with, he will find no minutes on that among all the documents of the government!

/Question/ Mr Haykal, on the subject of what has been said on what is called your rancor toward al-Sadat, they say that you ignored the nice side of the man, who dealt with you, when you were arrested in the last September

campaign, in a kind manner, and that you were living in prison as if you were at home, drinking mineral water and eating food from your home. Was this actually the case?

/Answer/ You and others are witness to the way we were treated in prison before al-Sadat's assassination. I leave it up to you. I respected the desire of the people who told us that they wanted to turn a new leaf in the history of Egypt and cooperate with all forces. I did not speak one word even on a subject which I consider myself responsible for writing about, the subject of 'Abd-al-'Azim Abu-al-'Ata, but nonetheless you know that we slept on the floor tiles, that we were obliged to eat bad prison food, black honey, rotten cheese, and beans full of worms, that we were prevented from contacting our families or lawyers, that the door to the cells remained closed on us night and day, and that no one visited us and we got no food from our homes until 25 October 1981, 2 weeks after al-Sadat's death. Although we were treated in a legal manner, we were imprisoned by an illegal process. This happened in an era which was not al-Sadat's. I said that young people like you can tolerate it, and venerable old men such as the late 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Shurbaji and 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan, as well as Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, have also borne it. As for the mineral water, that was not just a luxury I indulged in--it was a medicine which I took, and which was given to me by doctor's prescription, by a large committee that examined me, and discovered that I was suffering two stones, one in the kidney and the other in the bladder. The prescription is still to be found in the records of the Department of Prisons.

#### Recordings Everywhere

/Question/ On that subject, you have not yet spoken about the course of the investigation which the socialist prosecutor made of you during the September campaign. In one of the chapters of "Autumn of Fury," you broadcast the secret of the recording made in this office of yours of a conversation that took place between you and Dr Mahmud Fawzi, the former vice president, on al-Sadat's policies. What did the socialist prosecutor investigate you about? Were there other recordings besides the conversation you referred to?

/Answer/ The socialist prosecutor's second investigation of me did not differ from his first one. It all revolved around articles I had published and statements I had made. As for the recordings, there was a recorder everywhere in this house, and the conversation that was recorded with the late Dr Fawzi took place in this room, in the very place where you were sitting, and I was later given a chance to read a transcription of it. Would that the people making the attack had published the text of it, so that people would learn what Dr Fawzi's opinion was.

/Question/ Were these recordings permitted by the office of the prosecutor?

/Answer/ No one has presented me with any proof that they were, but I do not imagine that the recordings made of me in my jail cell were by permission of the office of the prosecutor. You know that everything we said in prison was taped, and that a daily report on our morale and our conduct was presented to al-Sadat.

## A Dispute on History

/Question/ Some people are hurt that you sometimes went overboard in making interpretations on some issues bearing on al-Sadat. The statement that he was a German spy, for example, ignores the fact that a large part of the Egyptian national movement in the forties imagined that an alliance with the Germans would get the British out of Egypt.

/Answer/ I did not say that he was a German spy, but I did relate the experience as he did, and the story was told in the context of a description of the world of illusions to which the president fled.

It is true that there was a tendency within the Egyptian national movement that was oriented in this direction, and al-Sadat started in an organization that included 'Abd-al-Latif al-Bughdadi and Wajih Abazah and was in touch with 'Aziz al-Misri and the Germans. However, from his statement, I proved in the book that al-Sadat went farther than he had indicated. To talk with the Germans regarding an Egyptian issue is reasonable, but to send signals and cooperate with men like Eppler and Sande is something else. If you refer to the chapter, you will find that there is a dividing line between a relationship with these Germans and what al-Sadat got swept up in, whether by impulse or by flight into illusion!

/Question/ There is another fact, which is his flight from prison in spring 1948, when he was imprisoned on account of the case of the assassination of Amin 'Uthman, in order to carry out, on behalf of the palace, with others, an attempt to assassinate Mustafa al-Nahhas, then his return to prison, after the attempt failed. Can you trust the sources of the account you mentioned in your book? Are there any witnesses or evidence?

/Answer/ My information says that an investigation took place on this matter. What has been proved is that al-Sadat was observed with the people who carried out the operation in a car belonging to the royal palace. Ahmad Hamrushi related part of the episode in his book, but this incident, and others, are nonetheless open to debate. If people with evidence or witnesses deny this, let them present them.

/Question/ Perhaps the people who accompanied him to prison at this time are more knowledgeable now that he is gone, and it might be useful if they gave their testimony!

/Answer/ That is their privilege, but the atmosphere of contentiousness that surrounds the book would spoil any discussion on history or on politics. I quoted from one of them, Muhammad Ibrahim Kamil, a story which says that al-Sadat knew in advance of the attempt to make off with the files on the Amin 'Uthman case, and he warned them of that before it happened.

/Question/ I imagine that the person who arranged the attempt was Hasan 'Izzat, as he mentioned in his memoirs, and as Wasim Khalid also mentioned in his memoirs.



/Answer/ The one who did the planning for it was the royal palace.

#### Playing at Democracy

/Question/ In the book it was stated that you are the one who recommended to al-Sadat that he portray the battle with the power centers to the people as a struggle over acceptance of a special role for America in the conflict.

/Answer/ No, I did not recommend to him that he portray it in that way; indeed, in reality there was a problem of democracy, above and beyond the problem of negotiation, and I said, "The real people's problem, at that time, was democratic freedoms, and you will not win them over to your ranks unless you respond to their demands, and open your heart, your doors and your prisons to them." I in reality wanted to encourage him to be democratic.

/Question/ You also said in the book that you were the proponent of the recommendation to open the Suez Canal to shipping in 1975, after the failure of the first stage of the second separation of forces talks in March 1975, before its success and the signing of the al-Ma'murah agreement in August of the same year. Wouldn't a recommendation of that sort be helpful to al-Sadat's policies, which you opposed?

/Answer/ This incident occurred after my dispute with him and my departure from AL-AHRAM. I accompanied him on the Aswan talks, and observed that he was very much in a rush to reach an agreement, which caused him to be prepared to accept much of what I consider to be neglect of the rights of the nation. I considered that there was no justification for haste, and I asked him, "Why are you in a hurry over the agreement?" His answer, in just these words, was, "Muhammad, I want to sop up the meat that is in Sinai, because the rest is all bone." The meat he meant was the income from the Suez Canal and the Sinai oil. I recommended to him that he open the Suez Canal, and told him that that would give him half the booty he wanted to get by hurrying to arrange the separation of forces, without the signing of any agreements, especially since the canal had lost its value as a card for exerting pressure after 8 years had elapsed since it was closed, with the construction of the super-tankers. He was hesitant, as were some of his aides, but he was won over in the end. But I did not choose the date of 5 June as the date for the opening of the canal, and severely opposed an idea which had occurred to him, of entering the canal on the vessel al-Mahrusah. I reminded him of its dark history, and the fact that it had carried the Khedive Isma'il and King Faruq to exile after they had been removed from the throne.

From the time I gave the recommendation to the time for the execution of the recommendation, we disagreed after the book "The Road to Ramadan" came out, and I do not know what happened to my recommendation between the time it was presented and was to be carried out.

#### I Did Not Oppose Jihan

/Question/ Some of your critics say that in the statements you made after your release from detention, you were relatively affectionate regarding



al-Sadat's memory. It was said that you visited Mrs Jihan al-Sadat to offer condolences for his death, and that she asserted to you that al-Sadat had intended to release you on 25 April. Is what has been stated correct? How did you turn from affection after your release to what people consider the asperity of "Autumn of Fury?"

/Answer/ I was not imprisoned because of a narcotics case, or on a charge of selling rotten chickens or stealing reinforcement iron. I was imprisoned because I had an opinion and because I opposed al-Sadat. When I left, I explained the reasons for my dispute with him, which were all published in his lifetime, and said, and still say, that President al-Sadat's problem was that he understood nothing about the geography and history of Egypt.

I do not want to say a word about Mrs Jihan al-Sadat. I actually did offer her my condolences; I did that because I tried to distinguish between what was human and what was political.

It is not easy for everyone to understand that, and perhaps you who were with me in prison did not understand the significance of the tears that I shed over Anwar al-Sadat when I learned the news of his assassination.

I was still distinguishing between what was human and what was political. Let me add that "Autumn of Fury" is devoid of any subject which deals with the conduct of al-Sadat's immediate family. I mean his wife and children.

/Question/ Do you imagine that Mrs Jihan al-Sadat is behind this furious attack on "Autumn of Fury?" Is there any specific political significance to that now?

/Answer/ I said that I would not talk about her.

/Question/ It is said that you chose the timing of the publication, so that the book would be published during the celebrations of the return of Sinai.

Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal laughed and said,

"That statement does not deserve a response. The publisher wanted to start publishing it in October 1982, on the occasion of the passage of a year since the incident of the podium, but I preferred a delay, and considered that the anniversary should elapse without its being published, although 'Isamat al-Sadat would have warranted the revival of the occasion. It was my appraisal that the book should be published at the start of the year, but the people who had bought the rights to the Japanese and German translation demanded that publication be postponed until the translation was completed, because they received the English text late. This start of publication on 10 April was out of purely practical necessity."

A Committee of Political Dialogue

/Question/ What is the proper climate for discussing "Autumn of Fury," in your opinion?

/Answer/ Why don't we adopt the civilized tradition that many countries resort to, on similar subjects? Why isn't a committee of political dialogue formed on the book, a quiet, objective discussion, which will examine the facts that are in the book and ask me about them? Why shouldn't this committee be open? What if this committee were formed on a national political level, and made up, for instance, of the heads of the four parties, or their secretaries general? There would be no harm in having the chairman of the court of values, the socialist public prosecutor, and the chairman of the court of cassation join it, and, if a military personality with weight and status joined it, and an eminent paramount shaykh from the ranks of the clerics joined it, that would be a key to a fruitful discussion, and the nation would benefit from it!

However, if what is going on continues, that will be proof that we are falling back and not advancing, proof that the people who want us, Egyptians, to remain the slaves of the charity of the people who rule us are still strong, proof that freedom of opinion and belief and the freedom to publish and express oneself are in danger, proof that the people who created the czars and are the protectors of corruption are still roaming about at will!

When Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal bade me farewell at the door to his office, he was still maintaining his broad smile, and I was still amazed, because his smile was stronger than the tempests--it was the voice of the unknown Egyptian who said, "The facts are in the dock, covering all tempests!"

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OPPOSITION PAPER CALLS FOR NEW RELATIONS BETWEEN LANDOWNER, PEASANT

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 27 Apr 83 p 8

/Article: "Political Life: On the Occasion of the Celebration of Peasants' Day"/

/Text/ The celebration of peasants' day this year is of exceptional importance in the history of the Egyptian peasant movement, especially, and in the history of the national democratic movement in general.

On 30 April, Peasants' Day, the establishment of a democratic federation of Egyptian peasants will be declared for the first time as a social necessity and as a fruit of the struggle of its martyrs: the declaration will coincide with the 17th anniversary of the martyrdom of the fighting man Salah Husayn by the bullets of perfidious feudalism, and the first founding conference of the peasants has decided to consider this a day for all the peasant martyrs in Egypt.

While all national forces are called upon today to take part in the creative, unremitting labor which these heroic martyrs began in order to create the general federation of Egyptian peasants as a democratic national organization which is capable of strengthening their struggle, protecting and maintaining their sacrifices, and turning them into real gains for their children, the peasants of Egypt, the serious tasks and problems which are being laid on the shoulders of this fledgling organization are extremely hard and complex.

The Relationship between Landlord and Tenant

In the forefront of these vital, explosive problems, today, more than at any time in the past, "the problem of establishing just relations" between the owner and tenant of the land stands out, because all Egypt is witnessing a fierce campaign at all media, marketing, and executive levels, aimed at changing this relationship, which has been established for years thanks to the land reform laws, under various justifications and claims.

The "oppressed" landlord in the best of conditions receives only 25 percent of what the tenant does.

The "support" for the relationship between the owner and tenant of the land, above and beyond the damage it has inflicted on the landlord, has brought strange phenomena into prominence, which the rural areas were not familiar with in the past, such as "key money" and so forth.

At the beginning, we, along with the secretary general of the party, Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, wonder about the "goal" in provoking this campaign today. Is the goal the fact that the value of the rent is no longer "feasible" for the owner? Or is it that the relationship is no longer "feasible" for the owner? Or is it that the relationship between the landowner and the tenant has become "harmful" for agriculture and "harmful" for production, and a reorganization is necessary if agricultural output is to be improved?

#### The Truth of the Case

The secretary general replied, "The issue, as I see it, is the statement that the landowners are being harmed by the current value of rents, in comparison with other incomes in the society; that is the cause--the cause is not the issue of agricultural output or whatever. Thus, if the purpose in making the statement is to say that the rent is not feasible for the landowner, the issue that ought to be discussed is how the value of the rent should be raised. The basic condition which we should adhere to is the fact that the issue should be studied adequately, since I know and hear from people who are active in agriculture and I personally am active in it--that the costs of farming are increasing and the peasants, as officials themselves acknowledge, want to leave the land that is planted with traditional crops, wheat, cotton, corn and rice, because, after the setting of compulsory prices for these crops, they no longer are feasible either for the tenant or even for the owner who farms his own land."

The secretary general added, "There is an important point: if the issue is that the revenue from the land in the form of rents is not 'feasible,' that is true to a large extent, as far as small landowners who have no income except their rented land are concerned. This is not the only problem. All the old housing on whose income its owners live is 'unfeasible,' but one cannot venture to raise that income, because that would 'infringe' on the interests of millions of citizens who rent the housing! Therefore, infringing on the agrarian reform law and amending the relationship between the landowner and the tenant of the land could create a severe shock in the countryside the oppressiveness of whose results no one can calculate--above and beyond what it would do to the system of distributing national income to the detriment of millions of poor peasants."

#### Evidence from Actual Cases

In the field study which AL-AHALI previously published, which was prepared by the party committee in the District of Aja, Daqahliyah, covering the situation in 11 villages in the district, where the area of land that is rented out, owned by 116 landlords, is 1,183 feddans, which are rented by 2,582 tenants, the most important facts emerged as follows:

The net income for the 3-year cycle per feddan, after deducting rent, costs and agricultural production accessories, was 385.6 pounds, and the total net income of tenant laborers and their families over a period of 3 years was 128.535 pounds per year!

The average area rented by peasants in accordance with the actual conditions in the study did not exceed 11 qirats, a farming area whose income does not permit the farmer and his family to live above the "poverty line," and 52 landowners owning from 5 to more than 25 feddans alone own 90 percent of the total area of rented land.

Of the total of 116 landowners, 105 do not work in agriculture and do not live in the villages that were the subject of the study. They have numerous other sources of income, which in the case of some of them range from 600 pounds per year, to 12,000 in the case of others. Out of the total 2,582 tenants, 2,555 have no other source of livelihood except their income from the rented land, and they sell the fruit of their labor to the owner of the land to meet the basic needs of their families.

In another field study carried out by the Federation of Peasants which is being established in the village of Kamshish, Minufiyah, the following was evident:

The agricultural area rented out in the jurisdiction of the village totals 435 feddans, owned by 69 landowners and rented by 380 tenants, and the total farmland in the jurisdiction of the village is 1,876 feddans.

Just four of the 69 landowners own 365 feddans of the area that is rented out, and the owners who have from /illegible/ to more than 25 feddans have other sources of income.

The heirs of al-Sayyid and Ahmad 'Abdallah al-Fiqi alone own 107 feddans of the agricultural land that is rented out, on top of the land they own in the village and the adjacent villages; 97 tenants are working this area.

The net from the 3-year cycle in the village is similar to the net from the 3-year cycle in the villages of al-Daqahliyah, although the cycle in al-Minufiyah differs in that corn is farmed over two cycles, instead of rice.

There are cases and examples of tenants who have no other source of livelihood aside from the land that is rented out, or the sale of the fruits of their labor.

Mr 'Atiyah al-Gharayani, 40, has 10 children and rents out 1 feddan and 20 qirats from the heirs of 'Abdallah al-Fiqi. He travels 14 kilometers round trip to get to land he rents out in the al-Bajuriyah Canal, so that he and his son can work with other landowners to meet the needs of his family life and some of his dependents who are enrolled in school.

Aminah al-Sayyid Hasan, a widow whose husband died and left her three children, the oldest of whom is 16, work a feddan and 20 qirats rented from Zakiyah and



Farit al-Fiqqi. Because the ownership is not in her name, she buys her needs in the form of agricultural equipment on the black market. The two landowners have filed a court case to expel her from the land.

Manawih 'Abd-al-Raziq, 38 has seven children. He rents a feddan from the heirs of Ahmad al-Khuli who live /illegible/. He is forced to work "gratis" for 40 consecutive days, night and day, to provide grain for his family.

#### The significance of These Indices

We do not claim that this evidence of actual conditions constitutes a general indication of the situation of the countryside in Egypt and the dimensions of the rental relationship between the landlord and the tenant.

However, we cannot ignore, or refuse to notice, the significance of this evidence, its conclusions and its implications relative to general indices, when we intend to cope with the problem of the relationship between the owner of the land and its tenant, considering that today this is the most important problem threatening stability in the countryside, one which stirs up storms of outrage in the ranks of millions of peasants.

Here is where the significance of what our party is proclaiming stands out, whether in the words of its secretary general or in the statements of the Central Bureau of Peasants, to the effect that this fabricated attack to amend the rental relationship is more political than related to or aimed at, agricultural production, because the main question is, are the tenants working to disrupt and obstruct agricultural production, or do they labor ceaselessly at their work to meet their commitments to the landowner and the village bank and to obtain a good income in the end?

The answer, which is of course in the tenants' favor, postulates the relationship between the landlord and the tenant as a serious issue which needs a proposal for a nationwide solution and dialogue and discussion between the parties and the people employed in agriculture, foremost among them the peasant forces because it touches upon the future of stability and development in the rural areas and the interests of 3 million families, who are the backbone of agricultural production, especially the traditional crops, the grain crops!

#### The Solution We Propound

Therefore, also, the severity of this problem, the problem of the stability of just, balanced relations between the owner and tenant of the land, will be among the priorities of the agenda of the Federation of Egyptian Peasants whose establishment has been announced. All the preparatory conferences that have been held to this day in the governorates indicate the presence of a state of "general consensus" on the proposed solution our party is presenting concerning the problem of small landowners who own 3 feddans or less. The solution the party is presenting calls for the Agricultural Credit Bank and the Egyptian Real Estate Bank, with the support and backing of the government, to buy land which small landowners want to sell, provided that this purchase

be in accordance with today's market prices and that the price be paid out to the landowner in full. In exchange, the tenant will pay the bank a deposit and will pay off the rest of the price in instalments over 30 years.

Limited field studies have revealed the falsity of the claim regarding the actual nature and size of the revenues the tenants receive, and they also have stressed that alien phenomena have come to the surface in the Egyptian countryside, such as that of key money. These are not the result of support for the relationship between the landlord and the tenant, as some people repeatedly say, but basically the result of incorrect economic policies that have handed agricultural land over to the market for speculation among parasites, to quench the thirst for ownership, the construction of subdivisions and so forth, and have turned the stable countryside into a force of rejection, even of the people in it!

Egyptian history, since the days of the pharaohs, has known the meaning and limits of the social function of agricultural mechanization. While most of the countries in the world, despite their various social and political systems, have underlined and expanded the dimensions of this social function and have passed laws prohibiting and preventing people who are not employed in agriculture and occupationally engaged in farming the land from owning farmland, under the slogan, "The land to those who work it":

Today, as we celebrate the celebration by the first democratic federation of Egyptian peasants of their holiday, we, in the name of the peasant martyrs in Bahut, Kufur Najm, Sahil Salim, al-Badari, al-Sarw, Kamshish, Daraw, Dakrish, Mit Fadhalah, and Abu al-Ghayt, call on all national villages on the territory of Egypt to support the fledgling federation and stand up before:

Any amendments to the agrarian reform law which will disturb the relationship between the owner and the tenant of the land, unless a broad dialogue is held comprising the nation with all its political and peasant forces.

The return of the system of backwardness and oppression, and the system of sharecropping.

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PROFESSORS COMMENT ON INSECT THREAT, NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF INTENSIVE CULTIVATION

Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 4 Apr 83 p 7

[Article: "Unending War Between Man and Insect!! Agricultural Research Scientists Discuss Results of Studies and Research; Negative Effects of Intensive Cultivation; How Do We Improve Production This Season?"]

[Text] Last week AL-IQLIM AL-AWSAT interviewed two of the top scientists in the Agricultural Research Agency. The first interview was with Professor 'Uthman Jamil, the deputy director general of the corporation, who has extensive expertise in entomology, in addition to lengthy scientific and practical experience in this field.

Professor Jamil spoke to this newspaper about the research aspect of combating plant epidemics which destroy crops and damage Sudan's economy and its agricultural position for 1982/83.

He said, "Insects share man's food and economy and threaten his health and that of his animals. However, there are friendly insects--those which fight harmful insects--and useful insects such as those that pollinate flowers and those that add new dimensions of beauty and wonder."

Integrative Pest Control

Professor Jamil said that there are 18 specialists in the Agricultural Research Agency in the fields of entomology and ecological epidemics. These specialists have come up with a new method aimed at the cost to the economy of fighting diseases, which has amounted in the 1982/83 growing season to \$70 million, with \$45 million for al-Jazirah and al-Manaqil. This method is called "integrative pest control," meaning that parasites in the field are taken into account, as well as other traditional farmers' methods.

Three Types of Cotton

Because Sudan produces three types of cotton in different areas and with different irrigation methods, such as running water, pumped water and rain, these differences have created many different, interrelated problems, particularly the growth of weeds, the need for soil improvement and various types of insects, which demand many different research methods in the quest to protect the cotton, the country's cash crop and to protect the income and foreign currency it brings--60 percent of the national product and 90 percent of exports.

## Types of Blights

Among the most significant cotton blights are the boll weevil and the white fly, known for its direct attack on cotton causing honeydew (stickiness).

The jassid is found in vegetables, and the aphids bore into the stalks of corn and wheat.

[1.] For these reasons the specialists in the agency have conducted research to discover these blights' weak spots in order to combat them with chemicals. These studies have been completed, and research is now underway to find insecticides to overcome these blights. Such insecticides were discovered recently, but there are difficulties in reaching the insects since they are in the fields and plants. These diseases and insects also have natural protection. For example, the white fly covers its body with a layer of wax, making it difficult for the insecticide to reach its target.

2. Depending on changes in the weather, some insects lodge in spots in the plants where they are very hard to reach, especially during November and December when the crops are dense.

3. Specialists have resorted to systematic pesticides, which vary in their effectiveness because they work through absorption--they must touch the insect. This causes difficulties with boll weevils, which stay inside the cotton bolls.

The jassid is very easy to exterminate if you can exterminate the first generation. Then it presents no danger.

Professor Jamil added that insecticides are not the only part of extermination. Spraying must be done on a sound scientific basis, and the mixing of pesticides in the field must be closely monitored, using the amount advised, watching the sprayers so they will work correctly, observing the pilot during crop-dusting operations and observing weather changes, in addition to other essential considerations to properly combat pests, including:

- (1) Planting on schedule, mindful of the migration of the insects.
- (2) Following proper fertilizing procedures, since fertilizer can help when crops are hit.
- (3) Eliminating weeds and keeping crops clean, since most weeds carry diseases.
- (4) Irrigating on schedule because crops must be irrigated before systemic pesticides are put down.
- (5) Cultivating fields according to professional advice in order not to create circumstances favorable for the increase of insects and make extermination difficult.
- (6) Picking the cotton when it is ready before it is subject to stickiness.

Professor Jamil concluded by saying that all these points were researched and reviewed by the agricultural operations technical committees.

#### Negative Aspects of Intensive Cultivation

Professor Hasan Khalifa, deputy director general for programs in the Agricultural Research Agency and an agricultural expert of long standing, spoke about the intensive cultivation experiment in the al-Jazirah and al-Manaqil project and the negative aspects at the beginning which actually led to decreased cotton production.

He spoke about the results of research to counter the problem and pointed out the factors which led to improved cotton production in the 1981/82 and 1982/83 seasons.

He said that after the intensive cultivation and diversification plan was begun in 1975/76, when food crops were introduced to help increase the national product and provide food such as wheat, beans and rice and to expand cultivation of vegetables and corn, many difficulties and problems resulted, particularly regarding cotton.

One problem of intensification was the spread of weeds, particularly the perennials such as common grass and Cyperus, and the increase in white flies, one of the main factors in the decline in cotton production and quality. Another factor was the intense competition for irrigation water, since the dates for planting and harvesting the various crops coincided. Other factors were lack of funds, agricultural equipment and means of production and farmers' not following the Agricultural Research Agency's advice, specifically not using deep plows, not planting on schedule, insufficient spraying and gathering cotton affected with honeydew during ginning. All these factors have hurt production and growth. The largest part of the burden of solving all problems related to the decline in cotton production has been placed on the Agricultural Research Agency, which before implementation of the intensive cultivation and diversification plan was reserved in its opinion and stipulated that all parties concerned should pay close attention to the following:

- (1) Providing enough irrigation water for all crops, at specific times and following continuous planting schedules.
- (2) Improving soil treatment, adding the recommended amounts of fertilizer and paying careful attention to farming operations.
- (3) Observing changes that occur in the increase and spread of diseases.
- (4) Striving for mechanization of some agricultural operations to lessen the fierce competition for the commission given.

#### Plan Without Benefit Study

Professor Hasan Khalifa said that he could prove that the intensive cultivation and diversification operations were not based on any comprehensive study of the economic benefits.



However, the Research Agency took part in three activities:

- (1) Performing applied research toward solutions to problems submitted, such as reviewing the agricultural cycle and studying the amount of fertilizer used.
- (2) Cultivating and developing new varieties of cotton.
- (3) Actually participating by heading technical committees following up all production operations and holding conferences and round tables to discuss problems and come up with solutions.

These activities helped greatly to improve the overall status of cotton production, since average production before 1975 was more than 4 kantars, which decreased after intensification to 2.7 kantars per feddan in 1979/80 and to 2.3 in 1980/81.

However, in 1981/82, production increased to 3.9 kantars and is expected to exceed that in 1982/83.

#### Reasons for Improved Production

Professor Khalifa said that the most significant factors in improving production in the past and current growing seasons were:

- (1) Environmental factors, since rain was scarce in July and August of 1983 [as published], and weeds did not grow and crops were able to establish themselves.
- (2) Unified efforts to fight diseases.
- (3) Noticeable improvement in seeds and treating them with the necessary pesticides.
- (4) Introducing new types of cotton in production stages.
- (5) Proper irrigation and careful attention to other farming operations.
- (6) Adding fertilizer in certain areas had an obvious effect, particularly in some parts of al-Manaqil.
- (7) Getting equipment and means of production from the World Bank assistance program.
- (8) The human elements of production all working together--the executive, local and producing authorities and the Research Agency.
- (9) Applying new production relationships by eliminating joint accounts was a great incentive for getting the farmer into the field.

## Honeydew and Stickiness

Professor Hasan Khalifa said, "A clear improvement was made in al-Jazirah and al-Manaqil cotton with the elimination of honeydew, which causes stickiness in the plant.

"However, some other agricultural projects are still suffering from white fly devastation."

## New Variety

The Agricultural Research Agency has developed a new variety of cotton to completely eliminate the problem of honeydew and stickiness in these agricultural projects.

The new variety is called "Sodac." One of its characteristics is resistance to the white fly. This variety is characterized by a split leaf (okra leaf), which makes it easy for the pesticide to reach its target.

Experiments were run on this variety at the Shambat research station and then the experiment was moved to al-Jazirah.

It goes without saying that al-Jazirah grows 49 percent of the long fiber cotton and 46 percent of the medium-length fiber cotton grown in Sudan.

However, al-Rahad grows medium-length fiber cotton, as do Halfa al-Jadidah, al-Suki, al-Zaydab and some agricultural production projects in the Blue and White Nile Provinces. Al-Rahad also grows 5 percent of the short fiber cotton.

Rain-grown cotton is cultivated in al-Qadarif, al-Damazin, the Nubian mountains and Equatoria in southern Sudan.

Fields planted with cotton in the current season amount to 1.25 million feddans.

9882

CSO: 4504/362

## BRIEFS

UPDATE ON AMIN CASE--Zayn al-'Abdin Muhammad Ahmad 'Abd al-Qadir, deputy first secretary of the central command and the head of the disciplinary board, issued a decision forming a commission of inquiry to be headed by Maj Gen Babakr 'Abd al-Rahim, member of the executive office, and composed of Ahmad Shaykh Idris Manna' and Amal 'Abbas, both members of the executive office. The commission's function was defined as: questioning Bakhitah Amin, editor-in-chief of MARYUD magazine, which is published by the press publishing house, about the magazine's article about Libya (issue No 34 of 16 March). This article prompted intervention by the People's Assembly during its 49th session on 22 March and the subsequent debates and arguments which resulted in agreement that the article did not meet with the principles and policies of the political system of Sudan. The commission will question Bakhitah Amin about her professional and financial relationship with any journalistic or other entities outside Sudan. The commission will be responsible for compiling a list of Sudanese journalists working in the Sudanese press who deal with journalistic entities outside Sudan for remuneration, and shall deal with each situation individually. The commission is authorized to examine any documents it chooses in carrying out its duties and also has the right to call anyone to testify as a witness. The committee shall submit its final report and its recommendations to the deputy first secretary and to the head of the disciplinary board no later than 20 April. [Text] [Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 4 Apr 83 p 1] 9882

AL-JAZIRAH DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS--Follow-ups by AL-IQLIM [section of AL-AYYAM] in government circles show that the central al-Jazirah council has submitted proposals for development projects amounting to 8 million pounds to the authorities in the Central region and that one of the most ambitious development projects has been approved by the government: (1) building several warehouses to store basic commodities such as sugar and flour for times of shortage and in the autumn, as well as to control these products and benefit from the profits that had gone to sugar wholesalers, which amounted to 693,000 pounds a year, (2) establishing a local market of 6 [number illegible] stores at a cost of 1.5 million pounds, which would bring a profit of 240,000 pounds, (3) the council's contributing 100,000 pounds to construct a building for the Sudanese Savings Bank, which is expected to bring an annual income of 25,000 pounds for the council, (4) selling some investment land in the city of Madani, where there are many wells, (5) making a list of the property allocated for factories but not used for that purpose and collecting the money belonging to the central al-Jazirah land office, which amounts to 620,000 pounds, (6) completing the

second stage of paving the roads in Madani, which will cost 3.5 million pounds. The Public Corporation for Roads has agreed to begin work after finishing in Khartoum, and the new roads will extend 28 km, (7) the council's beginning to build a vegetable, fruit and meat market at a cost of 218,000 pounds. Annual income is projected at 90,000 pounds. Our investigations reveal that Governor of the Central region 'Abd al-Rahim Mahmud and his government have agreed and have given the green light to the central al-Jazirah council to implement its development projects, which are expected to use existing resources to provide more services to the people. [Text] [Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 4 Apr 83 p 7] 9882

CSO: 4504/362

PAPER COMMENTS ON 'ARAFAT's EXPULSION

GF261146 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0650 GMT 26 Jun 83

[Excerpt] Manama, 26 Jun (WAKH)--The Bahraini paper AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ has stressed that the decision taken by Syria to expel the PLO chairman does not conform with stated Syrian policy. The paper indicated that all the pretexts put forth by the Syrian information media have failed to justify the dangerous decision taken by Damascus.

The paper added: While not ignoring the unfounded justification put forth by Damascus, the decision is designed to achieve goals beyond that of merely stopping the lies which 'Arafat has been spreading about Syria.

The paper said to end this campaign requires that Syria issue a statement supported with evidence to deny 'Arafat's accusations and not the act of banning one of the leaders of the Arab nation--one who the nation respects more than it does others--from entering Syria.

The paper linked the step taken by Syria against 'Arafat with "its constant position" of support for the Palestinian revolution and the unity of Palestinian factions. The paper said: When Damascus prevents the PLO chairman from contacting his forces in Syria and Lebanon and from contacting his colleagues, the other leaders, then this matter fully contravenes with Syria's stated commitments.

Concluding editorially, the paper called on all Palestinian factions to settle their differences, stressing that the differences within Fatah encouraged the adoption of this decision, and by settling their differences, the Palestinian revolution factions will eliminate foreign interference in their own affairs regardless of the source.

CSO: 4400/399



BAHRAIN

BRIEFS

MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM RECEIVES ATTENTION--British Government sources affirmed yesterday that the Middle East problem will receive a maximum attention in the foreign policy of the new British Government and that the new Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Geoffrey Howe shows great interest in the problem and will be concerned with it. In a statement to AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ, the sources said that since the recent developments in Lebanon, the British Foreign Office has been in contact, through its ambassadors, with all the concerned parties in the region. The sources said the new government affirms to the Arab world its continued concern with the Arab countries' friendship and cooperation with them in all economic and political fields. The sources said the new government will continue its condemnation of the Israeli settlement policy as an obstacle to peace and of Israel's continued occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights. [(Husni) Imam report from London] [Text] [GF241338 Manama AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 24 Jun 83 pp 1, 4]

CSO: 4400/399

## GPO ANALYZES WEST BANK SETTLERS

TA281423 Jerusalem GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE in English 27 Jun 83

[Commentary by Yo'el Greenberg: "Jewish Settlements in the Administered Territories"]

[Text] The controversy over Israeli settlement in the administered territories has led to many stereotypical and generalized conceptions about the settlements and their population. Jewish settlers have been branded wild-eyed fanatics or praised as self-sacrificing pioneers by various parties to the debate, and their real identity has been often obscured in the flurry of polemics over the issue.

The Israeli settlers in the administered territories form a sub-group of the Israeli population with its own distinctive characteristics. These have yet to be officially and statistically defined for the whole of this population (though this may emerge from the current census, which includes the Jewish population in the administered territories), but they have been sufficiently studied and described in recent years to provide a representative picture of the general situation.

The regional council of Binyamin, which comprises Samaritan settlements in the area along the central mountain ridge between Jerusalem and Shilo, is the only Jewish regional council in the West Bank which has conducted a systematic statistical study of its population. Other regional councils, such as those for settlements in the Jordan Valley, Mount Hebron or Samaria, have not compiled such information, and the population characteristics of these areas must be sought through contact with the individual settlements. However, Yisrael Harel, secretary of the Council of Settlements in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza district, says that the Binyamin regional council study is a very accurate reflection of the overall population characteristics of the settlers in the administered territories, and is thus "more than a representative sample" of this population. Harel's council (as well as the "gush Emunim" settlement movement, "Amana") have also published informal surveys of their settlements and inhabitants. On the basis of these surveys it is possible to compose the following picture of the Israeli settler population:

A large majority of the settlers are relatively young, between the ages of 20-40. Of the Binyamin regional council, only 4 percent of the adult population is above 50 years old, and some 55 percent are children up to age 18. The large

percentage of children can be mainly attributed to the high number of children per settler family: More than half the families in the Binyamin region have three or more children, while the average family size for the area is 4.6 persons, higher than the national average. Many of the settler couples are still young and of child-bearing age, and they can therefore be expected to grow even more. Statistics also show that among the settlers, religious couples usually have more children than non-religious couples; for example, the religious settlement of Bet El has only six 2-children families, but 39 families with 3-4 children and 14 families with 5-6 children. In contrast, Bet Arye, a non-religious settlement with a similar number of families, has 24 families with two children, 22 with 3-4 children, and only one family with more.

A clear--but far from overwhelming--majority of the settlements in the administered territories are religious: 12 out of 19 settlements in the Binyamin region are religious ones, while twenty of thirty settlements surveyed by the settlement council for Judaea and Samaria and by "Amana" are populated by religious settlers, many of them Yeshiva graduates or former members of religious youth movements. Five settlements in the Binyamin region are non-religious, and only four such settlements appear in the settlement council and "Amana" surveys. Sixty-six percent of the families in the Binyamin region define themselves as religious or traditional, while 34 percent say they are not religious. There are also a few settlements with mixed populations: In the Binyamin region there are two settlements with both religious and non-religious residents, and there are others in other areas, such as Qiryat Arba', El-David, and Teko'a (all in Judaea). Certain settlements which have been settled exclusively by religious or non-religious families are planned for a mixed population, such as Neve Dealim in the Gaza Strip and Mahane Yatir in Mount Hebron. The different lifestyles of the religious and non-religious settlers living together do not seem to have caused major social problems in any of the mixed settlements, except for Mizpe Yeriho (overlooking the city) which became an exclusively religious settlement after serious conflicts had arisen between its religious and non-religious members.

The settlers come from varying ethnic backgrounds, and include persons of both Ashkenazi and Sephardic origin, as well as native Israelis and new immigrants from the Soviet Union, the U.S. and other Western countries. In the Binyamin region, 62 percent of the family-heads are Israeli-born, 27 percent were born in America or Europe, and 11 percent in Asia or Africa. Many of the settlements have a mixed population of new immigrants and native Israelis, and some are populated almost exclusively by new immigrants, such as Hadasha, Giv'on and Bet Arye (Binyamin region)--largely populated by immigrants from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe--and Matityahu (Binyamin region) and Qatif (Gaza Strip), where U.S. immigrants predominate.

The settler population is mostly highly educated. In the Binyamin region, 70 percent of the heads of families have post high-school education (university or yeshiva), and only 30 percent have not studied beyond the high school level. It should be noted, however, that a prevalent form of higher education among the male religious settlers is yeshiva (religious seminary) study; also, the development of high technology industries in the settlements, such as electronics and computer software, means that a portion of the settlers have had the specialized technical training necessary for such work.

About half of the workforce of the settler population, while living in the administered territories, commute to pre-1967 Israel to work. According to the Binyamin regional council report, 52 percent of its settlements' working population travels to work either in Jerusalem (35 percent) or Tel Aviv (14 percent). All but five of the region's nineteen settlements have more members who commute than are locally employed, and some settlements have as much as three times as many members working outside than employed in or around the settlement. Of the five settlements with a majority of non-commuters, two have almost full employment in or near the settlement (Matityahu and Mevo Horon).

Only seven settlements in the Binyamin region have less than 50 percent commuting members, among them 'Ofra, Shilo and Bet El. These are older settlements, and established: The development of its local industry, services and agriculture takes a few years, and only then does it begin to affect the employment patterns of the settlers. Members of new settlements which have not yet developed local industry or agriculture are still compelled to work elsewhere.

The picture in the Binyamin region reflects the situation in the rest of the administered territories, as evidenced in the settlement council and "Amana" surveys, which show some 50 percent of the settlements with half or more of their members commuting to work. The Binyamin council figures show that commuting patterns are determined by the metropolitan areas nearest to the settlements: members of settlements near Jerusalem and on the eastern slopes of the central mountain range commute to Jerusalem, while those on the western slopes commute to Tel Aviv. The further a settlement is from metropolitan areas, the fewer commuters it has.

Working settlers who do not commute are employed either at their home settlements or in their vicinity (35 percent of the settlers in the Binyamin region). Work on the settlements is predominantly in public and community services such as education, administration and maintenance of the settlements. Smaller numbers of settlers are employed in agriculture and industry, and there are also those who work in business, finance, food supply, and accommodation for tourists. Settlement industries are small scale, usually employing less than 10 persons per factory and manufacturing such products as furniture, jewelry, electronic and optical equipment, computer software, and optical equipment. There are also factories in settlements manufacturing products for the defense establishment, such as in Elon More, Tapua'h (metalwork) and Ma'ale Adumnim (Israel Aircraft Industry Factory). The settlements also maintain tourist facilities, such as hostels, fieldschools, and souvenir and food shops for visitors. Agricultural activity--though limited to a great extent by the geographical conditions in hilly Judaea and Samaria--ranges from cultivation of field crops (cotton, wheat, sunflowers, etc.) grapevines and fruit orchards, to shepherding and maintenance of chicken coops and beehives.

As with employment in the settlements proper, most of the settlers working in the immediate vicinity of the settlements or who commute to work across the Green Line are employed predominantly in public or community services, in such areas as education, administration and health services. Others work in industry, business and finance. In the Binyamin region, where more than half the

workforce is employed or studies outside the local area, most are employed in white collar professions (more than 75 percent), and only a minority (12 percent) are employed in industry and construction.

The former places of residence of the settlers vary: Some settlers were once city-dwellers who continue to work in Israeli cities while living in the administered territories; others are former moshav or kibbutz members who left their old communities to build new ones. For example, the settlement of Kfar Tapua'h was established by former moshav members from the Petah Tiqva area, and many Jordan Valley settlements were started by former members of kibbutzim and moshavim in Israel. Other settlements, such as Teqo'a and Qedumim, are made up almost exclusively of former urbanites. The newest settlements, especially those set up by Gush Emunim's Amanah movement, are often made up of settlers recruited from more established Judean or Samaritan settlements. A prime example is Berakka, recently established amid much controversy near Nabulus: It is currently populated by 15 young families from 12 established Samaritan settlements. These "rotating settlers" plan to live at the new settlement for a year, with the aim of developing and preparing it to receive future residents; the families also have the option of staying permanently in Berakha.

The population profile described above is rapidly changing. The administered territories have become the arena for a new form of non-ideological settlement by hundreds of Israelis in search of cheaper and higher quality housing away from congested metropolitan areas. This search for "quality of life" involves far wider population groups than the young, predominantly religious and ideologically motivated settlers of Gush Emunim. The new Israeli residents of the administered territories will have different characteristics: More of them will be non-religious, with fewer children per family, and an overwhelming majority of them will commute to work from their new homes "just 15 minutes away" from the Tel Aviv and Jerusalem metropolitan area. Thus it can be assumed that while the established settlements will increase their local economic activity and attract more settlers to work in the administered territories, the new residential neighborhoods across the Green Line will perpetuate the lifestyle already characteristic of more than half of today's settlers: Living in a bedroom community in the administered territories, while commuting to work in more established Israel.



## BRIEFS

LEBANESE AGRICULTURAL PURCHASES--Agricultural produce worth \$4.6 million was marketed to Lebanon through Rosh Haniqra between September 1982 and April 1983. The breakdown of the sale is: \$1 million's worth of vegetables; \$2.5 million for bananas, \$400,000 for other fruits, \$250,000 for flowers, \$360,000 for potatoes, and \$80,000 for fish. The net return on the goods sold at Rosh Haniqra reached \$1.2 million in April. [Text] [TA281103 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 28 Jun 83 p 8]

ISRAEL-HUNGARY CREDIT LINES--An agreement [sikun] on the opening of credit lines between Israel and Hungary is expected in the next few days. This will help develop economic ties between the two countries and will particularly allow for increased Israeli exports to Hungary. Yesterday an Israeli economic delegation comprised of Bank of Israel Director General Yosef Sarig, Hamizrahi Bank Director General Aharon Me'ir and additional bankers left for Hungary. The Israeli delegation departed at the invitation of the Hungarian State Bank, a delegation on behalf of which visited Israel some 2 months ago together with other Hungarian economic representatives. Ever since then, constant ties have been maintained with the Hungarians. In effect, economic ties have been practiced between Israel and Hungary through various ways. In 1982 Israeli exports to Hungary reached \$4.5 million, and imports from Hungary amounted to \$8.1 million. The export items included citrus fruits, textile goods and chemical products. Imports from Hungary include seeds, food products, chemicals, metals and electrical items. [Report by Yitzhaq Dish] [Text] [TA281401 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 28 Jun 83 p 10]

ISRAEL-CANADA RESEARCH FUND--Canada and Israel have decided to establish a joint research and development fund. A delegation headed by Industry and Trade Minister Gid'on Pat yesterday signed an agreement establishing the bi-national fund, after a day of deliberations with Canadian commercial and industrial authorities in Ottawa. This is the first time that Canada establishes a bi-national R&D fund with any foreign country. In addition to dealing with the fund, the Israeli delegation has held talks with the Canadians on the improvement of trade relations between the two countries. Israel strives for an increase in its exports to Canada, to balance its relatively large imports from that country. [Text] [TA290727 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 29 Jun 83 p 6]

ISRAELI-PUERTO RICAN AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION--The Government of Israel is about to sign an agreement with the Government of Puerto Rico for agricultural development in that country. It is estimated that these development activities will total hundreds of millions of dollars. The Puerto Rican ministers of finance and agriculture are expected to arrive in Israel today in order to work out the details of the bilateral agreement. According to the proposed agreement, the U.S. Government is to finance the development in Puerto Rico which will then be carried out by Israeli companies. Among other things, an agricultural farm is to be established, arid regions are to be developed, and food processing plants will be built. This is the first time that Israel is taking on agricultural development of an entire country, as opposed to special areas. Recently the director of the planning authority of the minister of agriculture, Professor Shmu'el Pohoryles, visited Puerto Rico, and he agreed to the projects that Israel is to carry out there. [Report by Avraham Dishon] [Text] [TA290944 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOOT in Hebrew 29 Jun p 2]

CSO: 4400/402

## SLOWDOWN IN ECONOMIC GROWTH EXAMINED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1385, 20 May 83 pp 75-76

[Article by 'Adnan Karimah: "Jordan, a Big Head of Services on a Little Body of Production"]

[Text] Stability in any country is not divisible. Political stability generates security, which leads to economic and social stability.

Providing political stability, which is the foundation, is usually tied to outside political developments in the region and is in light of the role that a specific country plays therein and its relationship with the strongest players, as well as the weakest. It is the extent of the profit it can gain from the strongest, without losing it with the weakest.

It is clear that Jordan, under the guidance of King Husayn, has been able during the past few years to play a profitable role in the area. Circumstances have helped it to make a profit from most of the Arab disputes. They have given it the elements of stability, which for its part has generated confidence in the Jordanian economy, both at home and abroad, and has highlighted the strength of its national currency and the soundness of its financial reserves.

It has been noted that during the second half of the 1970's, the Jordanian economy went through a period of prosperity that astonished Arab and foreign economic experts and businessmen. Statistics indicate that the economic performance rates that were achieved during that period were comparable to the rates aimed at by the 5-year development plan (1976-80), since the annual growth rate in total domestic production, based on 1975 prices, amounted to about 10.5 percent, compared to the growth rate estimated by the plan at about 11.9 percent.

The growth rate achieved in the gross national product was 13.4 percent, compared to 11.5 percent. This growth was reflected in all the economic sectors in Jordan, which has led to an increase in individual average income, in current prices, from 185 dinars in 1975 to 482 dinars in 1980.

How did that happen?

It should suffice to point out that the government is the biggest customer of the Jordanian economy. The wealth of this customer surely has to be reflected

on the various sectors, according to the size and type of governmental expenditure. During that period the Jordanian government's financial position was excellent, and its income came from two sources:

1. Foreign revenues. This was undoubtedly influenced by Jordan's foreign policies, whether on the regional Arab level or in terms of international relations. This was made clear by the official statistics, to the effect that the volume of these revenues jumped from 172 million dinars in 1978 to 252 million in 1980. It forms 53 percent of the government's general revenues. It was also clear that 90 percent of this revenue came from Arab sources (the oil states, led by Saudi Arabia and Iraq). For example, 209 million dinars of the foreign revenue for 1980 came in the form of support from Arab nations and 43 million dinars were in foreign loans, divided equally between Arab and foreign nations. All of these figures of course prove the extent of the success of Jordanian foreign policies.

2. Domestic revenues. The increase in foreign revenues played its role by activating various sectors. The official figures indicate that this revenue jumped from 158 million dinars in 1978 to 225 millions in 1980. This constituted 47 percent of the government's general revenues.

Then the Iraqi-Iranian war came along to increase the prosperity of the Jordanian economy, as a result of its participation in fulfilling the demands of the Iraqi economy, whether by importing goods through the port of Aqabah or by providing the services of the Jordanian sectors.

However, it is now apparent that the countdown of this prosperity began in the last part of last year and has become clearer in the first part of this year. Therefore, the Jordanian economy is currently undergoing a period of "sluggishness" in the various sectors, and official sources describe it as a period of "slowdown" in growth.

What are the causes?

So long as it is impossible to separate the political from the economic, the most important causes for the growth slowdown in the Jordanian economy are political developments having a connection with the Arab-Israeli dispute and with the Iraqi-Iranian war, apart from the Lebanese war and the oil production and price war.

In the second half of the 1970's, a large number of Lebanese and foreign firms and capital, fleeing the Lebanese war, came flooding into Jordan. This had a part in the economic boom that forced expansion in order to accommodate this influx and to profit from its exploitation, especially since it was rumored at that time that Amman might replace Beirut in terms of attracting foreign capital. However, the estimation of the Jordanian yield did not concur with the calculation of the field of investors for two main reasons:

1. Some of the Jordanian restrictions on discount and conversion operations, which were not encouraging to the investors who were accustomed to absolute freedom and complete absence of restrictions, as provided them by the Lebanese regime.

2. Recent political developments, which caused investors to get ready to return to Beirut, especially after Jordan was placed in the ring of political and security developments expected in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Stemming from this shortfall in the field of supply and demand for services, where supply has overcome demand, it is currently being noted that the percentage of hotel beds being filled fluctuates between 30 and 40 percent. There is also a decline in the rate of demand for consumer goods.

As for the repercussions of the Iraqi-Iranian war on Jordan, they have been positive during the last few years (1980-82). The Jordanian economy reaped the fruits of satisfying Iraq's military and civilian requirements. These positive aspects were highlighted by the following:

1. The Jordanian port of Aqabah had never seen such commercial activity as it saw during the past few years, as a result of its being converted ~~to~~ the main entryway for Iraq's imports from foreign markets.

2. Jordanian industrial exports had never hit such heights as they did during that period, when the monthly average for these exports to Iraq reached 5 million dinars (about \$13 million).

3. As a result of the prosperity of the export and transit activities, the transportation business between the two countries flourished. A large number of drivers switched to employment on the Amman-Baghdad overland route, and investments in this field multiplied. Many drivers plunged into borrowing money from banks in order to purchase trucks, and the Jordanian-Iraqi Land Transportation Company was formed, in order to satisfy the huge demand that the market was seeing.

4. Air transportation flourished. That was clearly seen by the transport of passengers on Jordanian 'Aliyah Airlines roundtrip between Amman and Baghdad, after this airline became Iraq's main air route with the outside world. Everyone who noted 'Aliyah's jumbo jets filled with passengers was prompted to say that that airline was prospering at a time when international airlines were losing money.

All of this occurred during the Iraqi financial prosperity caused by fulfilling the military and civilian war needs. However, what happened during the period of Iraqi "belt tightening?"

The fact is that this period, which began towards the end of last year, has inflicted great harm on the various sectors of the Jordanian economy.

In the industrial production sector, sluggishness has been noted dominating this sector, after a decline in the rate of exports to Iraq from 5 million to about 1 million dinars a month. This has increased the intensity of the crisis, from which the manufacturers are suffering, since they also face obstacles in exporting to Syria, because it does not follow the rules of the Arab common market and the bilateral economic agreements, while Syrian exports continue to pour into Jordan.



It is clear that, in expanding their activities to satisfy the Iraqi demand, the industrialists have relied on bank funds, since their indebtedness has risen to 123 million dinars. They recently complained in an official memorandum, which the Amman Chamber of Industry sent to Jordanian Prime Minister Mudar Badran, that the banks were pressuring them to collect their credits. A judicial order was even issued against a large organization that was behind in its payments due to export agreements that were not fulfilled. The memo referred to "delay of payment possibly causing the grateful intervention of the minister of industry and trade and the governor of the Central Bank."

The memo revealed that large numbers of uncashed checks are returned daily due to insufficient funds.

In the import trade sector, the situation is no better than the industrial sector. Merchants who imported large quantities of various commodities, in the hope of exporting time to Iraq, have been unable to achieve their goal, and a large part of these goods remain in Jordanian warehouses, with their owners looking for buyers for them outside of Jordan, because the local consumer needs have been flooded and the banks are pressuring them to pay their financial obligations, not to mention having to bear the costs of storage.

As for the transportation sector, it has for its part borne heavy losses. A large number of small investors, who borrowed from the banks to buy trucks in order to reap the benefits of the flourishing transport activities between the two countries, have suffered, and luck deserted them as a result of the "drop-off" of that activity. They are now being subjected to pressures from those banks.

Finally, we come to one of the important causes for the slowdown in the Jordanian economy, and that lies in the decrease of Arab aid to Jordan. In addition to the fact that last year Iraq stopped paying its share of this assistance, decreed by the Arab summits and especially the Baghdad summit, due to the financial straits it was suffering because of its war with Iran, Jordanian officials fear that the decline in revenues of the Arab oil-producing states, as a result in the reduction in prices and production, will be reflected in the size of these countries' aid to Jordan, which currently forms less than 40 percent of the Treasury's general income.

Because of all these developments, the Jordanian government is taking steps to find a balance in the role of the Jordanian economy, which enjoys a large head, the services' sector, on a small body, which stands for the rest of the production sectors.

The stagnation in the activity of the production sectors has resulted in investors and savers being pushed toward financial services organizations. Last year these organizations attracted 46 million dinars, while the sole industrial corporation that was formed in 1982 was unable to attract a million dinars to cover the value of the stock issued for its public subscription. The shares of the financial organizations were so warmly received that a shareholder could have no more than three shares.

There is no doubt that greater generosity was the basic factor in attracting investments in the services' sector, since the average for prices of shares of financial services organizations at the end of November 1982 rose to 365 points, while that for industrial firms dropped to 132 points.

Since the industrial sector is the biggest in terms of share of local production, export profits and employment, it must preoccupy the attention of Jordanian officials. However, the balance of payments will worsen dramatically, especially since import obligations are more than 1.1 billion dinars, while exports are less than 200 million dinars. This threatens the cash and financial situations and weakens the strength of the Jordanian dinar!

7005

CSO: 4404/384

KUWAIT

**BRIEFS**

**NUMBER OF HERPES CASES--**An official source at the Public Health Ministry has noted that the number of herpes cases discovered so far do not exceed 12.  
[Summary] [GF211402 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 20 Jun 83 p 1]

CSO: 4400/399

APN CALLS FOR ACTION TO THWART PRESSURE ON JORDAN

JN260818 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 25 Jun 83

[Palestine Broadcast: From "On the Events" program]

[Text] In Moscow, the APN political commentator says that the U.S. administration is continuing its attempts to entrench the Zionist occupation and to split Arab ranks. He adds: Shultz is requesting the Arabs to take their hands off the Palestine question and restrict its representation to the Jordanian regime so as to liquidate it.

The commentator says: The Palestine question has been and still is the test through which stands are detected, whether on Arab unity or on all other Arab issues, including the Arab nation's future. The Egyptian regime's position is the best proof of this. Following its collaboration with the aggressor and its supporter in Camp David, the Egyptian regime did not only betray the Palestinian people's interests in return for a handful of Sinai sand, but also sided with Washington and Tel Aviv in calling on the Palestinians to abandon the struggle for their rights and hand their right to self-determination to strange hands. By doing this, the Palestinians would be liquidating their legitimate organization the PLO.

APN adds: All this is linked with the continued Egyptian regime's aspiration to impose a new result of the Camp David type on the Arabs. The Lebanese-Israeli agreement does not only aim at prolonging the Zionist occupation of Lebanon for an indefinite period of time, but also erecting a barrier between Lebanon and the Arab world. In other words, Egypt is deepening fragmentation of Arab ranks. All that helps in achieving this imperialist-Zionist plan is welcomed by Washington, Tel Aviv, and their third Camp David partner--the Egyptian regime.

APN concludes: The Arabs, therefore, should take unified action to stand in the face of pressure exerted on Jordan, which is considered, inside the official lobbies in Washington, as a next possible party in the new unilateral deal with the aggressor.

CSO: 4400/399

NVOI ASSAILS IRAN'S STANCE ON AFGHAN TALKS

TA271058 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 25 Jun 83]

[Unattributed commentary: "What Does the Fear of Iran's Islamic Government Stem From?"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: For some time now the third round of talks between representatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan have been taking place in Geneva under the mediation of the UN secretary general's special envoy.

As you are aware, the aim of these talks is to seek solutions for solving the problems pertaining to Afghanistan and for ending foreign intervention in the internal affairs of this emancipated country. Signs indicate that some progress has been achieved in this connection in the talks between the two sides. Unfortunately, representatives of the Islamic Government not only have refrained from participating in these talks but are also treading a course that has been adopted by imperialist governments and the region's reaction.

The Hojjatis in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran have issued a statement in connection with the start of the third round of talks between the Afghan and Pakistani representatives and have magnanimously declared these talks to be illegal. The reason put forward by the Islamic Republic's Foreign Ministry in justifying this wrong act is that the so-called true representatives of the Afghan people—that is, the very feudalists, khans, and sardars expelled by the combatant Afghan people and also a number of royalist Afghan pseudoclergy who have been lodged in Qom's theological seminary—are not participating in these talks.

While repeating statements by writers of the CIA and the Intelligence Service, the statement by the Iranian Foreign Ministry announces the Iranian regime's decisive support for the struggles of so-called Afghan mujahidin. The statement by the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran is a flagrant violation of international laws and mores and is tantamount to overt intervention in the internal affairs of an independent country whose people expelled the decayed monarchical regime, which was the agent of America, through their long struggles and who chose the system that they favor.



The issue raised by our homeland's people with respect to the approach and policy of the Islamic Republic's Government toward Afghanistan is this:: Why are the Islamic Republic's officials striving to lie to the Iranian people? The Iranian people are aware of details pertaining to the issues about Afghanistan and of the plots by imperialism and the region's reaction against the people and government of Democratic Afghanistan, and also of the Islamic Government of Iran being a partner in crime of this joint plot. Our homeland's people know that in this emancipated country an end has been put to imperialist domination and to the government of the arrogant, and that the masses' government, which has risen from the people and which relies on the people's support, is now in control of affairs.

It is fear of these victories that is inducing imperialism and the region's reaction, including officials of the Islamic Republic who have betrayed the aims and slogans of the Iranian nation's revolution, to hatch plots against Democratic Afghanistan.

Reportedly, the Islamic Government of Iran is dissatisfied that in Democratic Afghanistan the people are enjoying the fruits of the revolution and are engaged in building a new, free, and prosperous society. Officials of the Islamic Republic are annoyed that in Afghanistan, instead of promises, practical and reformist measures are being implemented in the interest of the people, and that the people of that country have recognized the so-called mujahedin of American Islam supported by the Iranian regime and are expelling them. The annoyance of the Islamic Government's authorities stems from the fact that contrary to the claims of their mouthpieces, in Afghanistan the people enjoy complete freedom in carrying out their religious duties.

Both in foreign and domestic policy, the Islamic Government is treading ever more on a course favored by America. There should be no doubt that this approach and policy will achieve nothing for its implementors except disgrace and humiliation.

CSO: 4640/260

NVOI DENOUNCES IRAN'S ADVANCES TOWARD WEST

TA271513 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 26 Jun 83

[Unattributed commentary: "The Islamic Republic of Iran on the Path of Rapprochement With the Great Satan"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: The Islamic Republic's officials are trying with utmost power to assure the struggling and free Iranian nation that alleged reports circulating these days about the Islamic Government's rapprochement with the great Satan and other Satans are false. With this aim, they have employed radio and television, authorized newspapers and their turbaned and unturbaned propagandists on a large scale. However, the so-called reasons of these propagandists and defenders of the Islamic Government are so hollow and even ridiculous that most of the time they back fire.

Just over 4 months ago, in connection with the barbarous onslaught of the rightists, the superficiales and the American and British hojjatis on the Iranian Tudeh Party, and the arrest of its leaders and members, we said that this measure by the Islamic Government is a prelude to an assault on all the gains of the revolution, a prelude to retreating from the adopted path, and particularly a prelude to rapprochement with the great Satan. Now our homeland's people are themselves an actual witness to the accuracy of our statements.

Yes, despite the contradictory remarks by some of the Islamic Republic's authorities with respect to open expansion of diplomatic relations with the great Satan and other Satans, and despite their attempt to keep concealed the overt and covert contacts of the Islamic Republic's official and semiofficial authorities with imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, currently many of the realities are being revealed.

The imperialist mouthpieces, being assured of the decision by leaders of the Islamic Republic and the fact that the path of their retreat no longer exists, are at present talking openly and expressing their satisfaction and joy overtly. For example, the mass media of Britain's imperialist circles, in the course of recent weeks, have published numerous articles about Iran's rapprochement with imperialist governments, one of which is an article by the SUNDAY TIMES dated 5 June 1983 entitled "The Mullahs Are Learning to Like the Great Satan."

At present it has become obvious and certain to everyone that the aim of so much disgraceful anti-Tudeh and anticommunist clamor, the aim of so many killings and arrests, and the aim of the use of so much criminal and medieval torture by the Islamic Government against leaders and members of the Iranian Tudeh Party with the aim of obtaining so-called confessions through the most wicked methods and with the aid of drugs, was precisely to conceal the treachery of its rapprochement with the great Satan and his allies from our homeland's public opinion.

The SUNDAY TIMES has spoken of the visit by an Iranian delegation, headed by an ayatollah in European apparel, to Washington, and has termed this act as a symbol of new relations between Iran's mullahs and a country which was previously called the great Satan.

The rapprochement of Britain's feeble imperialism with the Islamic Republic of Iran is also no longer a secret. Following the recent visit by a broad economic and active British delegation to Iran, currently numerous shuttles and contacts are taking place between the two countries. According to the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although at present British delegations are operating under the Swedish flag due to reasons of expediency, very soon the flag of Great Britain will return to the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the volume of Britain's trade exchange during the current year will exceed 400 million pounds.

This is only a fraction of the undeniable fact of the Islamic Republic of Iran's rapprochement with the great Satan and other allied Satans of America. But the Islamic Government should know that the million-strong masses and the true revolutionary forces of our homeland, both religious and nonreligious, will not allow the blood shed in the path of the revolution to be wasted, and will struggle with all their being until death to foil the plots of the rightists and U.S. elements in the Islamic Government, and to safeguard the revolution's popular and anti-imperialist line.

CSO: 4640/260

NVOI REFUTES ALLEGATIONS ABOUT ISLAM IN AFGHANISTAN

TA292100 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 29 Jun 83

[Unattributed commentary: "Why is the Islamic Government's Policy With Regard to Democratic Afghanistan a Variant of the Great Satan's Policy?"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: In a letter, one of the listeners of the National Voice of Iran has asked us: What, in your view, is the reason that the deeds of the Islamic Government of Iran, which outwardly still alleges to be struggling against imperialism, in many instances, both in domestic and foreign policy, are contrary to its claims in the true sense of the word? My objective is the policy of the Islamic Republic's Government toward Democratic Afghanistan which is totally in accord with the policy of America and the region's reaction. Why, in your view, are the mouthpieces of the Iranian regime lying to our homeland's people with regard to Afghanistan? And where does their fear of stating the facts about Afghanistan stem from?

Undoubtedly the query of this listener to us is also posed by many of our dear compatriots. In order to enlighten public opinion, it should be stated foremost that as we are aware, the rightists who dominate the Islamic Government in our country, have basically trampled upon the goals and slogans of the Iranian nation's popular and anti-imperialist revolution. In order to implement this plot they have used Islam as a means to cover up their wrong, superficial and monopolist deeds. With regard to Afghanistan as well, in order to justify their acts and policy of adherence to imperialism and the region's reaction, these gentlemen have used Islam as an alibi, and in order to mislead and deceive our homeland's Muslim people they carry out their impolitic interventions in the internal affairs of the independent and emancipated country of Afghanistan under the pretext that Islam has been endangered in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan's life and reality rejects this absurd allegation. Everyone is aware that in Afghanistan the Muslim people have complete freedom in carrying out their religious duties, and that the Islamic religion in this country is supported and respected by Afghanistan's democratic and popular government. This point has been affirmed in the working program of the ruling party in Afghanistan and in the program of the democratic government of Afghanistan.

A statement by Afghanistan's struggling clergy, in which the support of Afghanistan's Muslims and realistic clergy for the Afghan popular and anti-imperialist government is announced, exposes the falsehoods of the rightists and the American and British hojjatis who have managed to gain control of sensitify positions in our country's Islamic Government.

As is being perceived, the allegation that Islam is endangered in Afghanistan--which the Islamic Government is using as a means to justify its interventions in the internal affairs of this country--is a groundless allegation. The reason for the rightists' discontent in the Islamic Government and their fear of Afghanistan stem from the fact that whatever the revolution has promised the people in popular and democratic Afghanistan is being implemented. Fundamental and basic reforms in the interest of the oppressed people are being carried out which cannot but leave a special impact on the peoples of the region's countries. Comparing what has been accomplished in Democratic Afghanistan, despite the plots of imperialism and the region's reaction and America's undeclared war against this emancipated country, with what has been accomplished in our homeland by those who falsely claim support for the oppressed, can clarify the reason for so much clamor by the rightist mouthpieces of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

CSO: 4640/260



NVOI COMMENTARY ON TERROR, REPRESSION IN COUNTRY

TA271244 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 26 Jun 83

[Unattributed commentary: "You Cannot Stop the Movement of the Wheel of History"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: During their messages and speeches, Imam Khomeyni and other government figures of our homeland, have complained as to why international organizations have not shown the necessary reaction with respect to the murder of some members of the family of the late Ayatollah al-Hakim.

Without doubt killing, committing murder and crime, and violating the law, anywhere and under whatever name, is a condemned act. In our era progressive mankind cannot and should not tolerate the use of coercion and terror and the murder of innocent people. World public opinion must make its voice of protest more audible against violations of the law, the killing of freedom, and perpetration of crime. Terror and repression.

However, as regards the issue that our homeland's government figures have raised, and about which the Islamic Government's propaganda organization has been making statements for several days now, what is noteworthy to our country's people is that Islamic Government authorities who are displaying so much sensitivity in the face of a criminal act and the murder of several innocent persons in Iraq, why are they indifferent to and say nothing about so much murder, crime, violation of the law and torture that is taking place very close to them?

Are you not aware that for a long time now thousands of men and women have been chained in the Islamic Republic of Iran's prisons and torture chambers? Are you not aware that they are annihilating men and women under torture? Are you not aware that they are violating the honor of women prisoners and political prisoners before your own eyes? Are you not aware that they call all these crimes and medieval tortures retribution and punishment? You gentlemen who have adopted the course of reconciliation with the rightists in the Islamic Government, God knows as well as you, that you are aware of all these developments, but due to expediency and on the basis of compromise you have closed your eyes and ears.

You, who talk of support for the world's oppressed and of Islamic justice and conscience, you who are raising so much clamor about the murder of a few innocent persons in another country, why have you placed in your own home the

fate of thousands of innocent people and noble and struggling human beings in the hands of a bunch of mullah Savakists or Savakist mullahs who are the hirelings of America, the major capitalists and landlords?

Go and visit the country's prisons at close range and see what tragedies your jailers are inflicting on the innocent people in order to obtain admissions and confessions. See to what medieval and modern wicked and savage methods the Islamic Government's psychopathic torturers are resorting to in order to alleviate their bestial craving.

Inflicting torture and committing crimes is a sign of impotence and abjectness. You can stop the warm and freedom-loving hearts of revolutionary combatants from beating, but you will never be able, as your predecessors have not been able either, to stop the movement of the wheel of history.

CSO: 4640/260

## BRIEFS

IRAN-LIBYA CIVIL AVIATION TALKS--Tehran, 27 June IRNA--Iran and Libyan officials held wide-ranging talks on bilateral cooperation in the field of civil aviation, it was said today. As a result of the talks, Iran will send experts to Tripoli who will train the Libyans in the civil aviation field. The Libyans will also arrive for receiving training in the same field. The Libyan officials, during their stay here visited various civil aviation facilities of the Iran Air including an air traffic control system which is equipped with the most modern electronic equipment. The Libyan delegation left here Sunday evening. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 0942 GMT 27 Jun 83 LD]

CSO: 4600/712

# INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS: NO WAR POLICY URGED

Karachi DAWN in English 8 Jun 83 p 13

[Article by M. B. Naqvi]

[Text]

PAKISTAN-INDIA Joint Commission sat in Islamabad last week and achieved a measure of success, adjudged by both sides to be satisfactory. Visa liberalisation, easier travel, beginning of an incipient cultural exchange and other steps towards civilised neighbourliness appear on the positive side of the balance sheet. On the negative side, the occasion was not utilised for negotiating substantive political issues like non-aggression and friendship treaties. The Foreign Secretaries will take these up in August after an eight-month lapse.

Which side of the ledger is more substantial? While benefits to the common people from closer links, especially visa and travel relaxation, cheaper and better telecommunications — the latter's present state is a disgrace to both the countries — cannot be denied, political relationship between Pakistan and India is of great importance. Suspicion of each other's intentions seems to have been intensified and, of course, the arms race between them shows no sign of abating. New Delhi seems to have lost much of its interest in the effort to forge friendlier ties after noting Islamabad's reluctance to sign a treaty of peace, friendship

and co-operation.

Unfortunately it is not possible to be too optimistic about the slow and steady, step by step progress in various fields being able, in aggregate, to create an atmosphere conducive to political understanding and eventual friendship. Experience has shown that the spiralling effect of mistrust, mutual accusations and arms race soon gets out of hand and war results. Already three or rather four wars have taken place between these two estranged neighbours.

## Too expensive

These wars have solved no problem — no, not even the East Pakistan crisis did. The latter's conclusion was, at bottom, a result of our own blunderbuss policies rather than of the war with India. We do not need another war. It is too expensive a business. Already the Fourth and Fifth Plans were still-born largely because defence spending left too few resources for development and the Sixth Plan looks like going the way of its predecessors.

For economic progress we need peace, more so as there is no possibility of achieving anything from stumbling into more wars. If we do need peace, we will have to so reorient policies as to give the objective of maintaining peace the first priority. And India being the only adversary country, our second priority would be an India policy that stands a chance of winning its trust and friendship so as to dis-

solve mutual antagonism and the spectre of war.

There is a school of thought that holds that Pakistan is too poor, weak and small to be able to afford an India policy of its own. The assumption is we Pakistanis can, realistically, only react to unfolding events and situations as a result of great powers' actions and pronouncements. We have, above all, to seize our opportunities to strengthen our security and or economy, it is said. In a way, this philosophy has for long informed our actions in the field of foreign relations.

This is intensely opposed by others. They hold that not having a good foreign policy simply means having a bad foreign policy. Which bad policy? it may be asked. Instead of an objective and rational determination of what our interests are and what will, on a longer view, hurt us, certain situations were exploited to frame certain policies for extraneous considerations. That has been the story of our foreign policy in the past. If continued, it is an invitation to base all our actions on commonly-held prejudices.

A commitment to peace, national self-interest as well as self-respect — preservation of national independence and promoting social and economic progress of the people — can scarcely fail to inspire a positive foreign policy of preserving and promoting peace, friendship and co-operation with neighbours and non-alignment with feuding Great Powers. Territorial disputes, like Kashmir, are apt to produce blinding passions that result in recurring wars without resolving any issue. Pursuit of peaceful solutions for them becomes unavoidable as uselessness of war as an instrument of policy is better realised. India and Pakistan have both to follow that path.

## Self interest

Now a recognition of these facts is not an admission of defeat or exhibition of cowardice. Other and older independent nations, especially in Europe, have shown how to break out of the vicious circle of nationalistic wars that finally achieve nothing and involve so much loss of life and limb, destruc-

tion of wealth and needless sacrifice of popular well-being. There is no reason why India and Pakistan should not learn from Europeans who had several Kashmir-like disputes. All of them — causes of so many wars — are now a forgotten affair, even when the once-contending nations happen to be on the opposite sides of the East-West divide, as was originally the case in respect of Trieste.

The Europeans' methodology was best illustrated in the case of France and Germany. After the Second World War they decided to bury the hatchet (of Alsace and Lorraine) and began to work for mutual friendship. Eventually, they signed the special Franco-German Treaty in January 1963. This proved to be a turning point in European affairs and beyond. The treaty aims at a thoroughgoing national reconciliation between them. Its provisions and results, can be usefully studied with a view to serving as a model for a Pakistan-India rapprochement.

The time for such a choice has been ripe for sometime. Let both choose peace and friendly co-operation and bury the past with all its conflicts. Friendship between Pakistan and India — without which they will remain condemned to periodic wars and all the attendant dangers — can confidently be expected to work wonders. It will bring about a sea change in the international situation, especially insofar as it concerns southern Asian regions, non-aligned movement, the UN forums and Third World's standing. Once the two countries stop sniping at each other in the rest of the world, the stature of both will climb to a now-unforeseeable height.

But such friendship cannot be sustained on mere sentimental or protocol hyperbole — or even by cultural cooperation alone. It has to be underpinned by hard-headed schemes of economic co-operation. And as in the European model, this has necessarily to be conceived on regional basis. Well-organised regional frameworks of cultural and economic co-operation provide an ideal setting for progress to the poverty-stricken peoples of South Asia. A policy that looks in this direction is what the people of South Asia need.



## ML LEADER ARGUES FOR ELECTIONS ON PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION BASIS

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Jun 83 pp 1, 22

[Text]

Mr S.M. Zafar, Secretary-General, defunct PML (Pagara Group) has said the only legal framework order needed before August 14, 1983, is to provide for elections of Assemblies and Senate under the 1973 Constitution, on the basis of proportional representation.

Talking to newsmen on Thursday evening, he said: "It is my personal opinion. Forces of the Right and Left should jointly ask for elections on the basis of proportional representation".

Mr Zafar said there is a triangular tension in the country at present. The three corners of the triangle are represented by Government, forces of the Right and forces of the Left. The latter two want the Government to hold elections and transfer power, but the Government does not feel that pressure so long as the two forces are divided.

"The need of the hour, therefore, is to rise above the issues of Right and Left and take only one issue, namely, democracy. But, the elections, if held, are going to decide not only the issue of the transfer of power but there shall also be a referendum on the future of the country whether it goes Left or Right. This is where the public is worried or confused. This is why the alliances today unlike the alliances of 1973 and 1977 are not election alliances. Even MRD is not an election alliance", he added.

Mr Zafar said, against this background, a method shall have to be found which is democratic, facilitates transfer of power and ensures that the final power will be in the hands of the party or parties which represent the majority of the vot-

ers of the country. "The only democratic way out of the dilemma is proportional representation. Let each party get in the Assembly what it deserves in terms of the total vote cast in its favour".

Another advantage is that the third party is the Government which according to Mr Zafar is already committed to it. "Therefore, the forces of the Right and the forces of the Left should jointly ask for elections on the basis of proportional representation", he added.

Commenting on MRD's call for launching a movement, Mr Zafar said, "Our assessment is that the call of the MRD is ill-timed. In principle, we agree to launch a movement for restoration of democracy but this should be done at the appropriate time. We must first wait for the political framework promised by the Government and also watch developments taking place in respect of the Afghan issue".

Referring to unity among various factions of Muslim League, the PML Secretary-General, said Qayyum Muslim League was merged in his party in 1980. Since the faction of Muslim League led by Khwaja Khairuddin has decided to defer the question of merger to a later time, no headway could be made. "We have now decided to contact members of PML (Khairuddin Group) who want that there should be only one Muslim League and a breakthrough has been achieved".

Mr Zafar said, all members of Khairuddin Group of Sind led by Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan would be joining his party on Friday at a reception in Hyderabad.

# NDP NOT TO TAKE PART IN LOCAL BODIES ELECTIONS

Karachi DAWN in English 7 Jun 83 p 16

[Text]

The defunct National Democratic Party (NDP) will again boycott the next elections for Local Councils in the country. This was declared by Haji Ghulam Ahmed Bilore, General Secretary of the defunct NDP, while addressing a Press conference in Karachi on Monday.

He was of the opinion that participation in the next Local Council elections would amount to endorsement of the continuation of Martial Law for another term of five years.

He said it was ironical that the Government thought it fit to tackle the local problems through the elected representatives and adopted a contrary approach towards the national and international issues by denying the chosen representatives to tackle those problems.

Haji Bilore said his party would continue the struggle for the revival of the 1973 Constitution, restoration of democratic rights of the people, holding of general elections and supremacy of law and judiciary.

He deplored that sophisticated weapons were allegedly being distributed among the Jamaat-i-Islami and Islami Jamiat-i-Tulaba workers in the NWFP and he opined that it would lead the country towards civil war.

It was witnessed for the first time in the Khyber Medical College inside the Peshawar University Campus in which a student meeting was attacked with the sophisticated weapons killing two persons on the spot, he claimed. Such incidents were unprecedented in the history of the University, he claimed.

He asked the Government to lift Martial Law, hold general elections, restore a representative government before the situation goes out of hand. He called for direct talks with the Babrak Karmal regime to solve the Afghanistan problem based on withdrawal of Soviet troops and repatriation of refugees.

He confirmed that the merger talks with the defunct Pakistan National Party (PNP) were continuing to the satisfaction of the representatives of both the parties holding the negotiations.

He deplored a reported message that machinery of the two textile mills at Uthal and Buleili, near Quetta, and a woollen mills at Mastung were being shifted from Baluchistan to Punjab and claimed that thousands of workers of the province will be jobless if the decision was implemented.

A number of local NDP leaders and workers were also present in his Press conference.

SAUDI ARABIA'S ROLE AS PAKISTAN'S TRADE PARTNER DISCUSSED

Karachi DAWN in English 7 Jun 83 Supplement p VI

[Text] OVER the years Saudi Arabia has emerged as the single biggest buyer of Pakistani goods. Likewise, Pakistan pays the major part of its import bill to our brotherly country.

A nominal yet significant portion of our exports to Saudi Arabia is handled by the Trading Corporation of Pakistan which tries to complement the efforts of the private sector in meeting the demands of goods and services from friendly and brotherly countries, specially of the Middle East.

In its endeavour to promote exports of non-traditional items to non-traditional markets the TCP is now evolving a new export policy. Under this policy it would organise production in factories and farms to cater to the taste and requirements of the most sophisticated markets. It would provide designs and quality specifications for goods it needs for foreign buyers. It would buy up quality fruit, vegetable or other crops for foreign supplies.

In the process, the middle man's profits would be eliminated, the agriculturists would be benefited directly and with grading, packaging and treatment of fruits and other eatables, a stable export market would be assured. Besides, foreign firms, with track record and expertise, would be associated so as not to give any cause for complaint to foreign buyers.

The TCP would also be undertaking exports where domestic private sector lacks expertise or scientific knowledge

Top Priority

The TCP's trade with Saudi Arabia has remained confined to exports of such items like potatoes and kinnoos though it attaches highest priority to trade with that country.

The TCP's role in imports is gradually declining because of the official policy to shift import trade to the private sector. But now it is concentrating on building itself as a leading commercial export house. During 1981-82, it exported goods worth Rs 85.5 million to twelve countries of Europe, North America, the Middle East and South East Asia.

Pakistan's total exports to Saudi Arabia worth about Rs 1,937 million, amounted to nearly a quarter of her imports of some Rs 8,496 million from there. Thus the Pak-Saudi trade constitutes a negligible portion of global Saudi trade. Therefore, the vast potentials, both for exports and imports, in the Saudi affluent market remained basically unexploited.

The corporation would endeavour to help farmers, growers, artisans, cottage industries and those units in the public and private sectors which are facing crises because of lack of finances, technical know-how and marketing expertise, to market their goods to Saudi Arabia through the TCP.

It is currently negotiating with various parties in Kuwait, Bahrain, Muscat, Saudi Arabia and the U.K. for the export of mangoes in the coming season. Export of other fruits and vegetables would be undertaken during their respective seasons on a similar basis. It is also setting up a network in rural areas to procure quality products and advise the farmers as to how and what to grow for exports.

It also hopes to provide an impetus to the growth of export of non-traditional items such as fruits and vegetables, mineral water, hydro chloric acid, benzene, hydrochloride, china clay, pig iron, steel products, engineering goods, machine tools, handicrafts etc.

The fact is that the TCP has, over the years, won the confidence of foreign buyers as well as domestic exporters dealing with it, which is indicated in the following statement showing countrywise exports of TCP during 1981-82:

Abu Dhabi: Red cow.

Bahrain: Cotton cloth, cotton long Arabic dress, cotton fabric and cotton bedspread.

Canada: Fashion garments, towels.

China: Bed-sheets, pillow cases, curtain cloth, cotton bedspread, hosiery goods, pillow towel coverlets, towel coverlets, wool knitting yarn.

Dubai: Dry dates.

Italy: Bed sheets pillow cases and terry towels.

India: Crude drugs, dry dates, dry fruits, leather, Pakistani publications, rock salt and wet blue leather.

Sri Lanka: Coriander seeds.

Singapore: Cotton cloth.

Saudi Arabia: Kinnoos and potatoes.

United Kingdom: Canvas shoes and rock salt.

Yugoslavia: Carpets exhibits.

CSO: 4600/702

# PROPOSAL ADVANCED FOR FAIR TAX SHARING

Karachi DAWN in English 5 Jun 83 pp 13, 16

[Article by Khanum Gauhar Aijaz]

[Text]

**RESOURCE** distribution between the Federation and the Federating units has always been a matter of paramount importance in a Federal Republic.

Historically, resource distribution between the Federal and Provincial governments in Pakistan has been guided by various awards and commissions. Till, 1952, tax-sharing was governed by "Neimeyer Award" of pre-partition days while from 1952 to 1962, this arrangement was regulated in the light of the "Raisemen Award". From 1963 onward, however, the fiscal relationship of Federal and provincial governments has been governed by the recommendations of various National Finance Commissions set up in 1962, 1964, 1970 and 1974.

**DIVISIBLE POOL:** In 1974, only the following three taxes levied and collected by federal government were included in the "divisible pool":

(1) Taxes on income including corporate tax but not including taxes on income consisting of remuneration paid out of the federal consolidated fund; (2) Taxes on sales and purchases; (3) Export duties on cotton.

According to the NFC 1974 recommendations, 20 per cent of the net proceeds of these taxes is retained by the Federal Government and 80 per cent of the net proceeds of the above taxes/duties are distributed amongst the provinces on the basis of population alone. In ad-

dition to this, Frontier and Baluchistan get annual subventions from the Federal consolidated fund. Lately, export duty on tobacco has also been included in the divisible pool.

Sind, contributes almost 75 per cent of the tax income to the Federal exchequer but gets only 20 per cent of its recurring expenditure compelling it to borrow the remaining 80 per cent with the result that 24 per cent of its annual budget goes in debit-servicing alone.

Conditions in other provinces are not so bad. For example, Punjab has to borrow only 20 per cent of its recurring annual expenditure.

The basic requirements of Sind were also not taken into consideration while evolving the tax-sharing formula, although it is an established fact that the rural areas of Sind are among the most backward areas of the country.

To give a few examples — nearly 3 lakh children in Sind reach the primary school going age every year and in spite of all our efforts we are able to accommodate only 1 lakh children in schools while the remaining 2 lakh are left illiterate. As a result, the literacy percentage in Sind has fallen from 56 per cent to 42 per cent in the last few years.

Regarding health and medical facilities, the hard facts are that in Sind we have one bed for 16,170 persons as against one bed for 9990 persons in the Punjab, one bed for 11,549 persons in Baluchistan and one bed for 4,857 persons in NWFP.

As far as drinking water is concerned in the province of NWFP,

potable drinking water is available to 17.14 per cent of the population whereas we hardly provide this basic necessity to 8.85 per cent of the Sind rural population.

Our entire agricultural activity depends on irrigation canals but we do not have enough funds for regular desilting of these canals with the result that the condition is deteriorating year-by-year.

## Urban population

Urban population in Sind is 43 per cent as against 28 per cent in the whole country. To maintain the infrastructure of urban services we need more money than other provinces. The biggest concentration of urban population in the country is in the capital city of Sind which alone contributes 64 per cent of the tax income to the country. It absorbs the surplus population of all the provinces and provides job opportunities to the people of all regions.

The civic services of Karachi have to be maintained if not improved for which we do not have enough money. We are unable to provide even drinking water to the citizens of Karachi.

A very painful fact is that onethird population of Karachi lives in sub-human conditions in "Kutchi Abadis" in which there is no concept of any urban service. No doubt few individual families living in Karachi have a lot of money but onethird of city population is as poor as in any other neglected part of the country. The people who live in "Kutchi Abadis" of Karachi are the backbone of our industry.

The main cause of all these problems is that the tax-sharing arrangement is not realistic. Some of the taxes which ought to have been "Provincial" have been taken away by the "Federation". Again, out of the many Federal taxes, only four have been included in the "divisible pool" with the result that no other tax is sharable by the provinces. The distribution formula of the divisible pool is also very unjust.

The present National Finance Commission has to formulate fresh recommendations which will form the basis of resource distribution between the Federation and the four provinces during the next five years. These recommendations should prima facie ensure that the

"recurring" requirements of the Federation and the four provinces are sufficiently met.

For this, the fiscal relationship of Federal and provincial Governments will have to be redefined keeping in view the following principles:

(1) The essential recurring revenue requirements of the provinces are equitably met; (2) the tax-sharing is proportionate to the incidence of taxes in different provinces; (3) the distribution is compatible with the concept of Federation and provincial autonomy as stipulated in our agreed constitution; (4) The formula is simple and workable.

It would not be fair to treat "population" as the sole criterion of resource distribution as the population of one province i.e. Punjab is more than the total population of the remaining three provinces.

Similarly, the "incidence of taxes" cannot be the sole criterion as almost 75 per cent of the Federal taxes are generated by one province viz. Sind.

Likewise, "needs" cannot be treated as the only criterion as it may suit Baluchistan, Frontier and rural Sind only. Instead a realistic, equitable and practical formula be evolved keeping in view all these considerations.

The concept of Federation and provincial autonomy as stipulated in the 1973 Constitution must necessarily be reflected in the formula. Special care has to be taken so that smaller provinces do not develop a feeling of neglect.

In view of the above, instead of one, there should be four criteria for tax-sharing between the provinces i.e. (1) Population; (2) Incidence of taxes; (3) Needs; (4) Concept of Federation/equality amongst provinces.

Unfortunately, the government functionaries have not so far been able to work out the exact "incidence of taxes" and the priorities of "needs" vis-a-vis urban and rural areas as well as the relative backwardness of a region in terms of quantification of infra-structural gap and its effect on per capita income.

(A) Sharing Arrangement: The tax-sharing formula for the next award will, therefore, have to be based on the remaining to criteria only i.e. population, concept of



#### Federation/equality

This arrangement would be similar to the one unanimously adopted by the authors of 1973 Constitution to resolve the complicated issue of representation of provinces at the Federal level. In one house of the Parliament, the representation was given on population basis while in other, equal representation was given to all the Federating Units.

In order to determine as to what percentage of net proceeds be divided on population basis and what percentage on the basis of equal sharing, I have made a detailed study.

According to these formulae, Punjab will get a little less share than it would have got in case population was the only consideration. Similarly, Sind will get far less a share than it would have deserved had the main criterion been the contribution of a particular province to the Federal exchequer. In order to ensure that total receipts of the biggest province — Punjab — are not adversely effected, the existing 80 per cent share of divisible pool to the provinces be enhanced to 85 per cent or more.

(B) Expansion of divisible pool: In addition to this, the Federal Government may expand the divisible pool so as to include in it the following:

(i) Capital tax on immovable property, (ii) estate & succession duties on agricultural land.

It may be noted that both these taxes were in the divisible pool till 1974 and all their receipts were distributed amongst the provinces.

(C) Sales Tax: The Provincial status of "Sales Tax" be also restored. It was a Provincial tax till 1951 when, under very special circumstances it was, for the first time, taken away by the Federal Government with the specific condition that 50 per cent of its receipt be given to the province of actual incidence.

(D) Federal Projects Income: The Federation should also decide that a fixed percentage of the income of all Federal projects will be given to the Province in which a particular Federal project is located for the simple reason that the host province has to provide housing and basic infrastructure for the project. Punjab is given a share of the income of electricity generated by its rivers, though electricity is a Federal subject. On the same principle, Sind may be given a suitable share of the income of Karachi Port, Port Qasim, Karachi Nuclear Power Plant and Pakistan Steel.

This way, no doubt, the Federal Government may be losing a part of its revenues but it will, certainly, enable the smaller provinces to meet their revenue deficits on the one hand and evolve an arrangement which will place their economies on a more viable footing.

# SIXTH PLAN AMBITIONS CRITICIZED; REALISTIC BASE URGED

Karachi DAWN in English 7 Jun 83 p 13

[Editorial: "Planning: Utopia and Reality"]

[Text]

THE Sixth Plan document which is still in the draft form suggests a 6.5 per cent annual growth rate in gross domestic product over the next five years. Equitable distribution of the fruits of this growth is to be ensured by means of an active income and employment policy and a stipulated breakthrough in agricultural production, particularly in small farms. These are commendable objectives. The authors of the Plan seem to be conscious of the need to improve the quality of life of the poorer sections of the people. However, it seems that by the time the authors concluded their exercise, they became mindful of the need to qualify their promise in the last chapter of the document. They speak of "a major effort to respond to the task of effecting far-reaching improvements in the living standards of the vast majority of the population and lay the framework and foundation on which further progress can be built." It would have been more to the point if the authors of the Plan had done the hedging at the outset of their document. This would have helped them avoid outlining utopia backed by a shoe-string budget. High promises and low targets added up to a fundamental flaw in approach. This might have prompted the

NEC to return the document to the Planning Commission for a complete revision, for which it has been allowed about eight weeks during which the Commission will not only make adjustments in the Plan to accommodate the suggestions of the NEC but will also be going back to the provinces and various ministries for a second round of consultations.

The ambitious objectives made it necessary for the authors of the Plan document to evolve a strategy not properly related to objective realities. The term "agricultural breakthrough" sounds very attractive but the resources, financial as well as technological, required to achieve this are unavailable. Besides, in the absence of a political set-up the human material needed to achieve this breakthrough cannot be mobilised. The centrepiece of the Plan's stipulation regarding a breakthrough is the small farmer. But in today's rural society the small farmer occupies a back seat. He cannot be expected to move forward and dislodge the traditional pivot of his society — the big landlord — unless politics changes the relations and realities of power in the countryside.

However, even if the desired breakthrough is achieved by some miracle, it is doubtful if

the economics of its benefit would develop as envisioned by the Plan. At present the country is exporting food worth about 400 million dollars. Following the breakthrough the Plan expects this to jump to about three billion dollars by 1987-88. This increase is expected to be achieved with the export of 2.5 million tons of wheat, 1.5 million tons of rice, poultry, livestock and fisheries worth 300 million dollars and vegetables and fruit worth seven million dollars. One wonders whether the Planning Commission arrived at these estimates of exports after a proper survey of the target markets. It is, however, possible that the private sector, if given proper incentives, could make its mark in even the most competitive markets. But as long as the export of rice and wheat remains in the hands of the public sector, the private sector could hardly be expected to undertake the high-risk job of exporting livestock, poultry, and fruit in a big way. If they are allowed to make some profits on rice exports, they would certainly be willing to lose some money in the effort to promote the sale of non-traditional items. There are many other ifs and buts in this strategy which need a separate discussion.

The Plan proposes to achieve the targeted growth rate in industry by concentrating on the engineering goods industry. This is as it should be since the

Pakistan Steel will commence full production by the end of the next financial year. The Plan stresses the need to promote the cause of the industry by establishing small-scale manufacturing units in the private sector — a highly commendable approach. However, there are two variables which have to be considered before attaching any value to this approach. One is the willingness of the private sector to invest and the other is the country's level of technological attainment. If existing economic controls continue, the private sector would be willing to make investments only in such avenues as video games into which as much as Rs 500 million are said to have been poured in a short period of only eight months. And at the existing level of our technological capability, it is doubtful if we could establish an engineering goods industry capable of consuming the great bulk of the Pakistan Mill production. And in a country where imported refrigerators and airconditioners are available off the sidewalks, only the blind would like to invest their money in manufacturing them locally.

The Plan's dependence on remittances for continuing the current account deficit appears too dangerous. In the first place, the estimates of remittances are too optimistic. Secondly, they show that the Plan after all will not be able to increase our capacity to pay for

imports. The Plan envisages ambitious targets in the social sector. One can have no quarrel with the programme for improving the lot of the people in education, health, transportation, housing, water supply and village electrification. But one suspects that, despite a marked increase in the allocations for these sectors in the Sixth Plan over what was spent in the current Plan, programme implementation will suffer from financial and organisational constraints and if attempts are made to finance these programmes by charging the users the maintenance cost as well as the development fee, only the select few will be able to afford these services and utilities.

The Plan does not have to be a milk-and-honey manifesto. It is hoped that the redrafted document would be more realistic and free from clichés and slogans. Mere words do not raise the quality of life of the masses. The planners would be doing justice to the nation by making a Plan which would bring in realistic land reforms, release the economy from administrative controls, help in the early adoption of new technologies, including the microchip technology which promises great things for developing countries, and, finally, assist in freeing the huge resources now tied up in traditional non-productive avenues so that adequate funds are available for social sectors.

ANNUAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN ANNOUNCED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 12 Jun 83 p 1

[Text] With the objective of making a serious beginning towards the implementation of the Sixth Plan, the Finance Minister Ghulam Ishaq Khan yesterday announced a Rs. 31,000 million Annual Development Programme for the year 1983-84.

The 1982-83 ADP envisaged an outlay of Rs. 31,465 million but was later revised downward to Rs. 28,255 million.

The Finance Minister explained that the full impact of the Sixth Plan priorities cannot be translated in the first year as some of the Fifth Plan projects --Steel Mills and subsidy on fertilizer--will taper off slowly releasing resources for other sectors.

However, the total size of the 1983-84 ADP would grow to Rs. 44,00 million compared to the estimated implementation of Rs. 38,500 million in 1982-83.

The Rs. 31,000 million ADP, figure does not include a special programme for Baluchistan and FATA of Rs. 1,000 million. Public corporation programme of Rs. 8,800 million, 1 car bodies and local development programmes of Rs. 2,300 million, additional programmes for oil, gas and power development programme which might be undertaken with the assistance of commercial credits worth Rs. 1000 million, are also not part of the ADP proper.

The GDP growth target for next year has been fixed at 6.4 per cent.

He said that export projections for 1983-84 will increase by about 15.5 per cent over the current year. The import payments are projected to grow by 9.8 per cent. The remittances are expected to increase by 10 per cent.

Ishaq Khan said no major strain is expected to develop in the balance of payments positions.

The Finance Minister said that the annual development programme and the annual plan for the next financial year had been formulated with the objective of making a serious beginning towards the implementation of the Sixth Plan. They reflected the development strategy and priorities.

The Rs. 31 billion represented an increase of 8.4 per cent over the estimated Rs. 28.6 billion ADP of the current year, he said adding that the total size of the public sector development programme of the year would be of the order of Rs. 44.1 billion.

Ghulam Ishaq said that the government had also chalked out special programme for Baluchistan and FATA (rs. one billion), public corporations programme (Rs. 8.8 billion), local bodies programme and other local development of Rs. 2.3 billion and the possibility of undertaking additional programmes outside ADP involving expenditure of Rs. one billion for oil and gas development and power stations, subject to the mobilization of additional external assistance and commercial credits.

CSO: 4600/699

## ANNUAL ECONOMIC SURVEY RESULTS REPORTED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 10 Jun 83 pp 1, 6

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, June 9: The economic growth (GNP) in 1982-83 is estimated to have increased by 6.5 per cent, compared to 5.4 per cent in the previous year reflecting continuation of a 6-year trend of increasingly stable economic growth.

According to Pakistan Economic Survey 1982-83, released today, the growth of domestic production was up by 5.8 per cent from 5.6 per cent in the preceding year.

Agricultural production rose by 4.8 per cent which was exceeded only in 1979-80 in well over a decade. Manufacturing growth was 8.3 per cent which was less than the exceptionally high 1981-82 level (11.9 per cent).

By any index, the rate of inflation in 1982-83 was at its lowest in the last decade. The inflation rate fell to 6.7 per cent from 10.7 of the preceding year, while on a 10 month basis, the consumer price index fell from 12.0 per cent to 5.0 per cent.

While underlining this sharp decline in the burden of higher prices on consumers, the survey observes: "When future economic surveys are written, 1982-83 will be remembered as the year in which price stability was achieved, after a decade of inflation".

The survey presents a comprehensive review and assessment of economic development and performance during the year 1982-83 in Pakistan. As the year 1982-83 marked the end of the Fifth Plan period, the survey also described the achievements and limitations in the various sectors of the eco-

nomy over the plan period.

According to the survey, the Fifth Plan acquitted itself well not only in terms of its macro-economic targets achieving a level of plan investment of Rs. 157 billion compared to a target of Rs. 148 billion, and average GNP growth of 6.0 per cent, compared to a target of 7.2 per cent, but in terms of physical completion of major projects such as the long delayed Hub and Khanpur dams, Port Qasim, Pipri Marshalling Yard, Kotri railway bridge, and power and transmission projects. The Karachi Steel Mill is now partially operational and is expected to be completed in about a years time.

The rate of inflation was 9.4 per cent, if measured by the GDP deflator, and substantially less by other indices of inflation. The employment situation has remained satisfactory, and with greater attention being given to social sectors and the implementation of Zakat and Ushr, it is thought that the distribution of income has become more equitable.

#### BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

A surplus of 241 million dollars is expected in the balance of payments in 1982-83, an estimated 3.6 per cent decline in terms of trade during July-March, 1982-83 over the corresponding period of previous year, and a fall in net transfers from 175 million dollars in 1981-82 to an estimated 148 million dollars in 1982-83.

Exports touched 2.5 billion dollar mark growing by an estimated 9.4 per cent after a 17.1 per cent decline in the previous year. Overseas workers remittances totalled 2.9 billion dollars registering an increase of 28.1 per cent. Imports fell by one per cent to a total of 5.7 billion dollars which resulted in a fall in the deficit of current account from 1,610 million dol-



lars in 1981-82 to 809 million dollars in 1982-83.

#### **CAPITAL INFLOWS**

Net capital inflows from abroad have risen to one billion dollars reflecting increased confidence in Pakistan's economy.

However the debt service payments have also risen by 36.6 per cent amounting to 846 million dollars in 1982-83, claiming 34.1 per cent of export receipts and 13.3 per cent of total foreign exchange earnings.

Pakistan's medium and long term external debts, disbursed and outstanding amounted to 9.2 billion dollars on December 31, 1982 compared to 6.3 billion in June 1977 and 3 billion at the end of December 1971.

Monetary expansion during July-March 1982-83 rose to 19.8 per cent compared to 7.6 per cent in the previous year.

High rate of economic growth has generated rapid growth in energy demand resulting in supply shortage during the year.

The government attached highest priority to the provision of social infra structure-education, health, housing and other public services. Allocation to education increased by 49.1 per cent, literacy rate increased from 21.7 per cent in 1972 to 23.3 per cent in 1981.

The survey noted that after 30 years of turbulent existence "Pakistan today is no longer among the poorest countries in the world. Average Pakistani family enjoyed an income of Rs. 2,332 per month in 1982 in 1982-83. By comparison, almost half the world lived in countries with a low per capita income than Pakistan.

The survey underlines that the paramount objective of the government policies is to make Pakistan a fortress of Islam. It covers Measures to Islamise the economy, eliminate Riba and enforce Nizam-e-Zakat and Ushr.

FIGURES REPORTED ON FOREIGN CAPITAL INFLOW

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 10 Jun 83 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, June 9: Foreign capital inflows to Pakistan which started in 1951 and by the end of December 1982 loans worth dollar 15.9 billion had been contracted.

It included 15.2 billion dollars in the form of loans repayable in foreign exchange and dollar 0.7 billion in the form of loans repayable in non-convertible rupees including dollar 0.3 billion loans repayable in rupees, according to economic survey, 1982-83 released here today.

Out of total commitments of dollar 20.8 billion only eight per cent were in the form of unrestricted balance of payments support and the remaining 92 per cent were tied to specific projects or commodities and were also often confined to purchase from donor countries.

Disbursement of loans and credits upto Dec 31, 1982 amounted to dollar 12.8 billion and Pakistan has repaid dollar 2.9 billion leaving a net debt (disbursed and outstanding of dollar 9.2 billion. With debt relief arrangements made during 1980-81 debt service payments stood at dollar 634 million in 1981-82 and are estimated to increase to dollar 866 million in 1982-83 which would constitute 13.3 per cent of foreign exchange earnings.

CSO: 4600/698

# NEW BUDGET AIMS AT DEVELOPMENT

Finance Minister Presents Budget for 83-84

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 12 Jun 83 pp 1, 8

[Text]

FEDERAL FINANCE MINISTER GHULAM ISHAQ KHAN YESTERDAY EVENING PRESENTED, A DEVELOPMENT- AIMING RS. 88,290 MILLION BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1983-84, BEFORE A WELL ATTENDED MAJLIS-E-SH URA SESSION

DESPITE A RS. 12,460 MILLION RECORD DEFICIT, THE BUDGET HAS BEEN DESIGNED NOT TO OVERBURDEN THE TAXPAYERS BY DIRECT HEAVY TAXES. HOWEVER, RATES OF SOME UTILITIES HAVE BEEN INCREASED UNDER THE CONCEPT OF 'USERS MUST PAY'.

This first budget of the Sixth Five-Year Plan period, has for backdrop the Rs. 83,778 million budget announced in 1982-83 and latter revised down to Rs. 68,192 million.

Ghulam Ishaq announced a package of reliefs for the industrial sector to encourage investment and to minimise the governmental controls.

Besides, a number of concessions in customs duty and other taxes, the 1983-84 budget has

raised the ceiling of investment without sanction from Rs. 30 million to Rs. 60 million, including 50 per cent worth foreign exchange component.

Another bright aspect of the budget is the inclusion of some recommendations of the deregulation committee, particularly regarding the foreign exchange controls on travel and matters related to transfer of technology.

Agencies add:

A massive budget of Rs. 88,290 billion for 1983-84, featuring a high development outlay of Rs. 31,000 million and carrying a handsome package of relief measures for the common man, was announced by the Federal Finance Minister Ghulam Ishaq Khan here this afternoon.

Presenting the budget to Majlis-e-Shura which was especially convened for the purpose, he said that the development programme for the next financial year would be about 10 per cent higher than that of the outgoing year.

Ghulam Ishaq said the next year's budget acquired greater significance because 1983-84 was the first year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, which on the one hand sought to build an adequate

infrastructure for rapid development and on the other aimed at putting the country on the path of an Islamic welfare state.

The new taxation announced by him, he said, should be seen in the light of these objectives of the present government.

At the same time the budget carries a number of relief measures for the purpose, particularly those belonging to fixed income groups, the sugar has been de-rationed, income tax slab raised from Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 18,000, an amount of Rs. 2,650 million allocated for raise in salaries of government servants. 'P' form for foreign travel abolished and foreign exchange quota raised.

The current expenditure will amount to Rs. 57,289 million which is higher than last year by 12.4 per cent. Two main reasons for higher expenditure are increased allocation on defence and higher debt servicing. The defence will claim Rs. 1,995 million more this year and the debt servicing is to go up to Rs. 16,387 million.

Of the total collections of Rs. 79,987 million, net internal resources would be Rs. 63,212 million and the external resources being Rs. 16,775 million.

As regards the gross revenues Rs. 54,194 will be from tax revenue and Rs. 14,726 million from non-tax revenues.

Ghulam Ishaq said that the budgetary gap after accounting for provisions for items of expenditure like relief to government employees and picking up the revenue deficit of the Punjab and Sind Governments came to Rs. 12,461 million. This would be met by four types of measures—cut in federal spendings of 10 per cent and provincial spendings seven and half per cent, reduction in subsidy and fare adjustments, improvement in tax administration and new taxation.

He said the overall impact of these measures would be to reduce the budgetary gap to Rs. 6,020 million which was proposed to be covered by deficit financing.

But the Finance Minister made it clear that the deficit financing would be less than one per cent of the gross domestic product and well within safe li-

mits from the point of view of monetary and price stability.

The Finance Minister announced tax concessions totalling 468 million.

Various baggage concessions were also announced for the Pakistanis working abroad. Their duty-free allowance has been raised to Rs. 2,000 for persons returning within six months and Rs. 6,000 for those returning after more than six months.

#### TAX HOLIDAY

He announced that tax holiday of five years would continue to apply to machiner<sup>y</sup> meant for backward areas for agro-based and export-oriented industries. Duty on soyabean meal and vitamins needed for poultry industry has also been reduced. Sugar has been de-rationed to the benefit of the people.

In order to promote healthy recreational activity in the country Rs. two crore would be spent on promotion of sports.

Karachiites have been given welcome package of Rs. 8 crore for improvement in water supply.

Referring to the Islamisation process to which the present government is committed Ghulam Ishaq Khan said that various spheres of national economy were being reshaped and moulded according to principles of Islam. He, however, said this was being done on a step-by-step basis. Whatever had been built so far in this connection was impressive, he said.

Zakat and Ushr system had developed into an effective net for the most vulnerable groups in the society in the true Islamic tradition.

Considerable progress, he said, had been made towards establishing an alternative financial system free from 'Riba' (interest).

As regards the enhancement of duty on cigarettes, he said this was intended to discourage the smoking habit in the country because of its baneful effects.

Finance Minister in his nearly two-hour speech to the Shura was intermittently applauded as he announced relief measures for the common man.

After the speech Shura Chairman Khwaja Mohammad Safdar read out an order from the President proroguing the Shura.

## New Taxation Measures Detailed

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 12 Jun 83 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The following changes have been made in the concession to overseas Pakistanis:—

### Overseas Pakistanis

(i) The duty-free allowances available to Pakistanis returning within six months have been increased from Rs. 750 to Rs. 2000 and duty-free allowances for those coming after six months have been increased from Rs. 2500 to Rs. 6000. The concessionary rate of 135 per cent customs duty will remain available on all items other than airconditioners, refrigerators, video cassette recorders, televisions, sewing machines, cooking ranges and washing machines. These consumer durables would be chargeable to the statutory rates of customs duty.

(ii) Personal computers upto C and F value of Rs 30,000 required by the professionals returning from abroad after a stay of six months have been allowed free of customs duty under the baggage allowances.

(iii) Duty-free limit of post parcels has been increased from Rs. 250 to Rs 350.

(iv) Baggage concessions for over six months' category and transfer of residence will now be available only to the articles that come from the country of the normal residence of the passenger. No concession will be available on the goods booked from other places. Household effects such as furniture, crockery, cutlery, linen, utensils, carpets and rugs will be allowed free of duty under transfer of residence only if they have remained in the use of the person or family returning on transfer of residence.

(v) The period of shipment has been reduced from 60 days to 30 days by sea and to 15 days by air from the date of arrival of the passenger. The maximum period for arrival of goods in Pakistan has also been fixed at 120 days by sea and 30 days by air.

### CENTRAL EXCISE

1. The rate of duty on cigarettes falling in the lower slab

has been enhanced from 50 per cent to 52 per cent of the retail price, while on those in the higher slab from the average 67.5 per cent to 70 per cent of the retail price. At the same time, the barrier between the higher and the lower slab has been raised from 70 paise to 80 paise:

#### BEVERAGES

2. Agro-based beverages such as juices, syrups and squashes have been taxed at the rate of 5 per cent of retail price, while instant drinks made wholly from juices or pulp of indigenous vegetables, foodgrains and fruits have been taxed at the rate of 10 paise per ordinary size bottle: and

3. In order to streamline the collection of central excise duty on fans, it has been decided to place the fan manufacturing units under self-clearance system and charge fans to the statutory rates of duty.

Finance Minister Ghulam Ishaq Khan announced the following tax measures for the next financial year:

#### (A) INDIRECT TAXES

##### (i) CUSTOMS

1. Concessions of duty on machinery for backward areas and for agro-based and export oriented industries as well as on the import of machinery under non-repatriable investment scheme are being continued.

2. Following further concessions have been provided:—

(1) Total exemption from customs duty has been allowed on soyabean meal and vitamins required by the poultry feed industry.

(2) Customs duty has been reduced on natural and synthetic rubber from 60 per cent to 40 per cent.

(3) Exemption of customs duty has been allowed on such machinery for cement projects which cannot be manufactured locally. The raw materials imported by heavy mechanical complex, Taxila for local manufacture of cement machinery have also been exempted from customs duty and sales-tax.

(4) Industrial sewing machines have been given general exemption from customs duty.

(5) Customs duty on hosiery needles has been exempted.

(6) Power driven diggers required for plantation of trees have been exempted from customs.

(7) Customs duty has been reduced to 20 per cent on evacuators required for discharge of bulk items in the port areas.

(8) Raw materials and components required for local mixtures / grinders / meat choppers / appliances like juicers / mixers / grinders & meat choppers and toasters have been allowed at 40 per cent import duty.

(9) Customs duty on fork lift trucks for use in the industrial units has been reduced from 60 per cent to 20 per cent with no sales-tax and

(10) Duty on computer tapes has been reduced from 120 per cent to 60 per cent.

3. Following measures have been taken to remove tariff anomalies and to reduce the areas of discretion:

(1) Custom duty has been reduced on petroleum bitumen from 50 per cent to 40 per cent to bring the duty in line with the rate on asphalt.

(2) Custom duty has been reduced on painter's and artists colours from 85 per cent duty and 10 per cent sales tax to 40 per cent duty with no sales tax in line with the rate applicable to students' colour boxes.

(3) Customs duty has been reduced on pencil ferrules of aluminium from 120 per cent to 100 per cent in line with the duty on brass ferrules.

(4) Duty has been increased on silk yarn spun from waste from 50 per cent to 85 per cent in line with the rate on silk yarn spun from noil.

#### INCREASES

4. Customs duty has been increased on the following items to meet the protection requirements of the local industry:—

(1) Dyes from 70 per cent to 85 per cent with 10 per cent sales tax.

(2) Acrylic sheets from Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 per kg.

(3) Metallized film from Rs. 85 per kg to Rs. 110 per kg.

(4) Metallic yarn from Rs. 150 per kg to Rs. 200 per kg.

(5) Dry battery cells from Re. 1 per piece to Rs. 1.50 per piece.

(6) Deepfreezers and refrigerators from Rs. 9 per litre to Rs. 12 per litre.

(7) Liquid plastic soda from 140 per cent to 250 per cent.

(8) Discs from 40 per cent to 100 per cent in line with the duty on grinding wheels.

(9) Gaskets from 40 per cent to 70 per cent.

(10) Ship scrap from 50 per cent to 85 per cent.

(11) Auto-filters from 70 per cent to 120 per cent.

(12) Road rollers, electric overhead cranes, mobile cranes and asphalt mixing plants from 40 per cent duty plus 10 per cent sales tax to 85 per cent duty plus 20 per cent sales tax. To make these rates effective all these items have been excluded from the concessionary rate of duty of 40 per cent available under the machinery SRO.

(13) Electric motors have also been excluded from the scope of concession of 40 per cent duty under machinery SRO thus subjecting them to normal rate of duty of 85 per cent.

5. To encourage their local manufacture, duty has been increased on buses, trucks and light commercial vehicles in built up form from 50 per cent to 60 per cent and on motorcycles and scooters in built up form from 100 per cent to 120 per cent plus sales tax from 10 per cent to 20 per cent.

6. The duty has also been increased on:

(1) Betel nuts from Rs. 20 per kg to Rs. 25 kg.

(2) Betel leaves from Rs. 60 per kg. to Rs. 80 per kg.

(3) Biri leaves from Rs. 6 per kg to Rs. 8 per kg.

(4) Cutch and bambier from Rs. 20 per kg to Rs. 25 per kg.

7. Export rebate on art silk fabrics has been reduced from 32 per cent and 35 per cent to 15 per cent and 18 per cent respectively to bring the rate in line with the incidence of actual duties payable on the imported inputs used in their manufacture.

8. Concessionary rate of 38 per cent duty on engineering goods has been limited primarily to raw materials. Benefit on components will be available only in such cases where components cannot ordinarily be manufactured in the country.

9. Concessional rate of duty of 20 per cent has been withdrawn on PVC resin for the cable industry. They can however import cable grade PVC compound at 20 per cent customs duty to meet the genuine require-



ments.

10. Appropriate changes have also been made in the Tariff Schedule in anticipation of further liberalization of import policy.

11. Following changes have been made in the concessions to Overseas Pakistanis:-

(i) The duty-free allowances available to the Pakistan returning within six months have been increased from Rs. 750 to Rs. 2000 and duty-free allowances for those coming after six months have been increased from Rs. 2500 to Rs. 6000. The concessionary rate of 125 per cent customs duty will remain available on all items other than airconditioners, refrigerators, video cassette recorders, televisions, sewing machines, cooking ranges and washing machines. These consumer durables would be chargeable to the statutory rates of customs duty.

(ii) Personal computers upto C and F value of Rs. 30,000 required by the professionals returning from abroad after a stay of six months have been allowed free of customs duty under the baggage allowances.

(iii) Duty-free limit of post parcels has been increased from Rs. 250 to Rs. 350.

(iv) Baggage concessions for over six months' category and transfer of residence will now be available only to the articles that come from the country of the normal residence of the passenger. No concession will be available on the goods booked from other places. Household effects such as furniture, crockery, cutlery, linen, utensils, carpets and rugs will be allowed free of duty under transfer of residence only if they have remained in the use of the person or family returning on transfer of residence.

(v) The period of shipment has been reduced from 60 days to 30 days by sea and to 15 days by air from the date of arrival of the passenger. The maximum period for arrival of goods in Pakistan has also been fixed at 120 days by sea and 30 days by air.

#### (II) CENTRAL EXCISE

1. The rate of duty on cigarettes falling in the lower slab has been enhanced from 50 per cent to 52 per cent of the retail price, while on those in the higher slab from the average

67.5 per cent to 70 per cent of the retail price. At the same time, the barrier between the higher and the lower slab has been raised from 70 paise to 80 paise;

2. Agro-based beverages, such as juices, syrups and squashes have been taxed at the rate of 5 per cent of retail price, while instant drinks made wholly from juices or pulp of indigenous vegetables, foodgrains and fruits have been taxed at the rate of 10 paise per ordinary size bottle; and

3. In order to streamline the collection of central excise duty on fans, it has been decided to place the fan manufacturing units under self-clearance system and charge fans to the statutory rates of duty.

#### (iii) SALES TAX

1. Cottage industry exemption available to the manufacturers of (i) Washing Machines

(ii) Spring Mattresses has been withdrawn;

2. Sales-tax has been withdrawn on the following goods which are being produced within the country:-

(i) Sewing Machine parts.

(ii) Baby Feeding Bottles.

(iii) Table Clocks.

(iv) Printing Type.

3. Sales-tax at the rate of 12-1/2 per cent has been imposed on locally manufacture airconditioners and refrigerators;

4. Sales-tax has been imposed on locally manufactured items of cosmetics, toilet preparations and perfumery at the rate of 7.5 per cent;

5. Sales-tax has been imposed on locally manufactured machine-made carpets at the rate of 5 per cent;

6. Sales-tax at the rate of 20 per cent has been imposed on imported dry fruits;

7. Sales-tax at the rate of 10 per cent has been imposed on imported fatty acids falling under heading 15.10, boric acids, borates and borax falling in Chapter 25 and ferric earth colours falling under heading 25.32;

8. Sales-tax has been increased from 10 to 20 per cent on imported flavouring powders and concentrate falling under heading 33.04; and

9. Sales-tax has been increased from 10 to 20 per cent on imported sugar plants.

#### (B) DIRECT TAXES

##### INCOME TAX

1. Exemption limit has been raised from Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 18,000.

2. Surcharge on companies, individuals and firms has been abolished.

3. New super tax rate card for registered firms has been introduced.

4. Tax holiday for less developed areas expiring on 30th June, 1983 has been made available for five years to industries set up in such areas and which would commence commercial production between 1-7-1983 and 30-6-1988.

5. Tax holiday to garment industry and date processing industry established between 1-7-1983 and 30-6-1988 by a company any where in the country would be available for five years.

6. Exemption of income equal to 10 per cent of capital employed has been extended for five years to the industrial undertakings established between 1-7-1983 and 30-6-1988 in the tax holiday areas, and in approved industrial estates in the whole of the country except in Talukas of Karachi, Hyderabad and Tehsils of Faisalabad and Lahore.

7. Tax credit at the rate of 15 per cent of the amount invested for the purposes of replacement, balancing, modernization and extension has been extended for five years with the exception that it shall not be available for extension in Talukas of Karachi, Hyderabad and Tehsils of Faisalabad and Lahore.

8. Dividend distributed by industrial public companies established between 1-7-1983 and 30-6-1988 entitled to tax holiday shall be exempt for five years.

9. Capital gains on the sale of shares of public companies (as

defined in First Schedule) will be exempt upto 30-6-1988.

10. Tax exemption to bonus shares has been extended upto 30-6-1988.

11. Exemption to income derived from poultry farming, fish catching, cattle and sheep breeding, poultry processing, dairy farming and fish farming has been extended upto 30-6-1988.

12. Exemption to income of renting and manufacture of agricultural machinery has been continued upto 30th June, 1988.

13. Tax exemption available to income from property completed upto 30-6-1983 has been made available to property completed upto 30-6-1988.

14. The business income of religious and charitable trusts shall be taxable at the rates applicable to public companies.

15. For the purposes of tax holiday the industrial estates shall be approved by C.B.R. on fulfillment of conditions of infrastructural facilities. The mechanism for approving such estates will be finalised in consultation with Provincial Governments.

16. For the purpose of rebate on donations for charitable purposes in case of all tax payers the maximum monetary ceiling has been raised to Rs 3,00,000. In case of non-company tax payers alongwith monetary ceiling the percentage of income eligible for donation has also been raised from 15 per cent to 25 per cent.

17. Self assessment scheme will continue with minor modifications.

## New Incentives, Concessions for Industry

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 12 Jun 83 pp 1, 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, June 11: The Federal Finance Minister, Ghulam Ishaq Khan today announced a number of incentives and concessions for rapid industrialization of the country through expansion of its manufacturing capacity and encouragement to the agro based, agro allied, import substitution and export oriented industries.

In his speech, announcing the budget for the year 1983-84, the Minister said that the budget was the beginning of a new phase in nation's economic development as it marked the launching of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

Ghulam Ishaq said that the budget retained a number of fiscal incentives and concessions available for the purpose of achievement of the policy objectives of an aggressive programme for extending the essential social services progressively dismantling the system of controls, regulations and rationing which was an unavoidable part of economic management in the period of scarcities. Rationalization of taxation system and incentives would, however, be an essential part of the government's economic strategy, he added.

The Federal Finance Minister announced a cut of 10 per cent on Federal Government current expenditure and 7.50 per cent of the provincial government as a measure of austerity.

He also announced increase in the levies on cement, gas, cigarettes, betel leaves, railway fares, postal charges, fertilizers and agro based beverages to mobilize per development.

The Finance Minister also announced 50 per cent raise in the exemption limit of income for the purposes of income tax, raising the existing limit of Rs. 12,000 to 18,000.

Ghulam Ishaq said that the surcharge of 10 per cent currently levied on individuals having income of over Rs. one lakh per annum has also been abolished to encourage personal savings for the purpose of investment. The measure, he said, would involve a loss of about Rs 50 million.

Ghulam Ishaq Khan announced that Rs. 2,650 million were being provided in the budget for relief and concessions for the government employees on the basis of the government decision on the report of committee constituted for the purpose. The committee, he said, had submitted its final report which required to be examined in detail in consultation with the provincial governments and other concerned agencies.

He said that the government expected to be able to announce its decision early August next. He was, however, categorical that the decision would be given retrospective effect from July 1, 1983.

#### TAX HOLIDAY

Ghulam Ishaq said that the industries set up in Baluchistan, Azad Kashmir, Northern Areas, Tribal Areas, Malakand and D.I. Khan divisions, Mansehra, Kohis-

tan, D.G. Khan and Rajanpur district would continue enjoy tax holiday for a further period of five years upto June 1988.

Other relief measures are:

— Tax credit at the rate of 15 per cent of the amount invested for the purposes of balancing modernization, replacement and extension available to the existing industrial undertakings has been extended upto June 30, 1988, throughout the country, except that it would no longer apply to the "extensions" in Karachi, Hyderabad and tehsils of Faisalabad and Lahore.

— Tax holiday available to the garment industry, which has a great export potential has been extended for a period of five years.

— Exemption of income from manufacture and sale of agricultural machinery, for the agro based and agro allied industries will be available till June 30, 1988. The renting of agricultural machinery will, however, enjoy exception of income tax for two years for the business set up during the next five years.

— Exemption of income derived from poultry farming, fish catching, cattle and sheep breeding, poultry processing, dairy farming and fish farming has been extended till June 30, 1988.

— Tax exemption of capital gains on sale of shares, expiring at the end of the current financial year, has been extended for a period of five years. The concession shall, however, apply only to the capital gains on sale of shares of public companies as defined in the first schedule to the income tax ordinance, 1973. The tax exemption for earnings by the corporate sector on issue of bonus shares, available till June 30, 1985 has been extended for a further period of three years.

### Budget Generally Welcomed by Business Circles

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 12 Jun 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] In the first spontaneous reaction the business community by and large hailed the 1983-84 Budget announced yesterday as investment oriented. They welcomed the mix of concessions and deregulatory steps but with some reservations about the increase in the rates of some utilities.

#### FCCI

The Acting President of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Syed

Nazar Hassan Shah observed there are certain positive measures in the Budget which would lead to acceleration of pace of industrialisation.

The Finance Minister, he said, has done a meticulous exercise to rationalise the structure of taxes, duties, and through reduction in non-development expenditure whereby large budget deficit of Rs. 1246 crore is intended to be covered.

However, Shah criticised the

increase in railway fares, postage, cement prices, gas prices and said it would have negative effect and may lead to cost push inflation.

He welcomed increase in tax exemption limit from Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 18,000 and said it should provide some relief to persons in fixed income group.

However, he was disappointed by the meagre reduction in telex annual rental charges from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 20,000 is very nominal and disappointing.

# 83-84 Budget at a Glance

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 12 Jun 83 p 4

[Text]

REVENUE			
	1982-83 Budget	1982-83 Revised	1983-84 Budget
<b>1. RECEIPTS</b>			
(a) TAX REVENUE	49259	47370	54196
Taxes on Income & Wealth (Direct Taxes)	8495	8949	9999
Taxes on Commodities & Transactions Indirect Taxes	40764	38422	44196
Customs	(20821)	(19002)	(20821)
Sales Tax	(3747)	(3400)	(3747)
Federal Excise	(14124)	(13373)	(14806)
Surcharges & Stamps	(2272)	(2647)	(4723)
(b) NON-TAX REVENUE	12946	12546	14727
Income from Property & Enterprise	9258	8790	10314
Profit Post Office & T & T	(1852)	(1899)	(1856)
Trading Profit	(358)	(208)	(463)
Interest Receipts	(6861)	(6499)	(7850)
Dividend & Return	(387)	(384)	(336)
Receipts from Civil Admin. and other Functions	1741	1748	2121
Profit of SPP	(1000)	(1000)	(1355)
Currency & Mint	(16)	(14)	(17)
Defense Receipts	(320)	(330)	(332)
Receipts from Economic Services	(354)	(353)	(361)
Other Receipts	(51)	(51)	(54)
Miscellaneous Receipts	1948	2009	2292
(c) TOTAL GROSS REVENUE RECEIPTS	62205	58916	66922
Less: Transfers to Provinces	9892	9979	11074
(d) NET FEDERAL REVENUE	52313	48937	57848
<b>2. CURRENT EXPENDITURE</b>	48511	50960	57290
General Administration	2410	2528	3517
Defense Services	22871	23224	25219
Law & Order	1147	1146	1398
Community Services	990	979	1254
Social Services	1844	1916	2143
Economic Services	2456	2395	2023
Subsidies	1382	1758	1917
(Food items)	(141)	(141)	(291)
(Others)	(1221)	(1617)	(1626)
Debt Servicing, Investible Funds & Grants	15079	16988	19915
(i) Debt Servicing	(12383)	(1435)	(16387)
(ii) Grants to Provinces/Local Authorities	(2696)	(2644)	(3428)
Unallocable	352	6	6
<b>3. SURPLUS AVAILABLE FOR ADP FINANCING (1 MINUS 2)</b>	3802	-1012	558

(Rs. in million)

		CAPITAL					
	1982-83	1982-83	1983-84		1982-83	1982-83	1983-84
	Budget	Revised	Budget		Budget	Revised	Budget
<b>A. RESOURCES (1 + 2)</b>	<b>25809</b>	<b>22064</b>	<b>22068</b>	<b>2. EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE</b>	<b>15738</b>	<b>14874</b>	<b>18778</b>
<b>1. INTERNAL RESOURCES (1) + (2) + (3)</b>	<b>10871</b>	<b>7091</b>	<b>8932</b>	Project Aid	5883	4833	7101
<b>(1) FEDERAL GOVERNMENT (i + ii)</b>	<b>7285</b>	<b>4885</b>	<b>3585</b>	Commodity Aid	3883	3535	3930
(i) Revenue Surplus available for ADP Financing	(3802)	(-1012)	(888)	Food Aid	955	1228	1438
(ii) Net Capital Receipts less minus b)	(3463)	(8817)	(3837)	Other Aid	5217	5381	4308
<b>(a) CAPITAL RECEIPTS</b>	<b>12829</b>	<b>15381</b>	<b>15807</b>	<b>B. DEVELOPMENT OUTLAY</b>	<b>31465</b>	<b>28255</b>	<b>31000</b>
Unfunded Debt	3848	7022	9415	i) Federal Government (Gross)	<b>24388</b>	<b>21480</b>	<b>23878</b>
Deposits Bearing Interest	1991	1819	2240	(a) Departments	10957	8857	11484
Recoveries of Investments	3	4	4	(b) Indian Basin	852	1083	802
State Trading (Net)	-243	-298	-	(c) Autonomous Bodies	10576	11412	10884
Recovery of Loans	1918	1881	2254	WAPDA	6705	5871	7179
Domestic Debt (Permanent)	2038	3108	3118	Pakistan Steel	3300	3050	1882
Floating Debt	-	832	-900	Railways	1300	1207	1442
Deposits not Bearing Interest	3584	4184	4366	Other Public Corporations	2571	4234	2073
Supplies Accounts	-304	-374	-582	(d) Fertilizer Subsidy	1800	1848	1720
<b>(b) CAPITAL PAYMENTS</b>	<b>9386</b>	<b>12574</b>	<b>12670</b>	<b>3. Federal Government (Net)</b>			
Government Investments	1070	1487	2180	(1 Minus 2)			
Repayment of Foreign Debt	7888	9272	8489	<b>4. Provinces</b>	<b>6400</b>	<b>6126</b>	<b>6800</b>
Deposits Bearing Interest	1764	1813	1887	Punjab	3482	3183	3899
Deposits Not Bearing Interest	184	192	214	Sind	1303	1302	1448
Debt Rescheduling	-1500	-	-	NWFP	1082	1089	1177
<b>(2) SELF-FINANCING BY AUTONOMOUS BODIES</b>	<b>2738</b>	<b>2288</b>	<b>2327</b>	Baluchistan	543	542	675
WAPDA	2578	2151	2107	<b>Total-Development Outlay (3+4)</b>			
Other Public Corporations	162	135	220	<b>Total Resources (A)</b>	<b>25809</b>	<b>22064</b>	<b>22068</b>
<b>(3) PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTION</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>GAP</b>	<b>5866</b>	<b>6191</b>	<b>8302</b>
Punjab	57	-	-				
Sind	11	-	-				

CSO: 4600/699

## BUDGET ORIENTATION TO DEVELOPMENT FOR 1983-1984 PRAISED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 12 Jun 83 p 2

[Text]

By all standards, the 1983-84 Budget presented by the Federal Finance Minister, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, is development oriented. It does lend just enough impetus to the economy to take off. Even though a lot of deregulation and liberalisation is still needed, the first few steps have been taken in this direction, which, if implemented in right spirit, would help remove the distortions which the economy currently suffers from due to remote control and management.

Most of the annoying and time-consuming regulations regarding setting up of industries, foreign credit, including suppliers credit under the pay-as-you-earn scheme, payment of royalties, technical fees, employment of foreign experts, have been modified.

On the taxation side, surcharge of five per cent in case of public limited companies and ten per cent on registered firms has been abolished. Tax holidays for

industries in less developed areas have been extended for a further period of five years. Tax credit of 15 per cent for BMR investment has been allowed for a further term of five years though it will not be available for extensions in Karachi and Hyderabad, Faisalabad and Lahore tehsils. Garment industry, date processing, agricultural machinery manufacturing, poultry farming, have all received tax incentives and exemptions from other levies in deserving cases.

Some other welcome features of the Budget are in the scrapping of the much abhorred "P" Form system for booking passage by air, (ii) foreign exchange quotas to be drawn in instalments, (iii) enhancing the tax exemption limit from Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 18,000, (iv) withdrawal of ten per cent surcharge on income of over Rs. one lakh, (v) abolition of sugar rationing, (vi) doing away with of earning certificate for import of vehicles, (vii) investment incen-



tives to overseas Pakistanis in terms of repatriation of their money and profits, (viii) baggage concessions.

Let it be put on record that where levies have been enhanced, it has not been done arbitrarily, but these were required in the interest of local industry or on the consideration of ability to pay. A very desirable step has been taken in bringing the various trusts and foundations' commercial enterprises in the tax-net.

It is difficult to quarrel with the decision to impose excise duty on agro-based beverages and juices, but one wonders why this duty could not also be made applicable from August next as has been done in the case of sugar rationing owing to Ramadan. We seriously recommend that an amendment in this regard may be announced immediately, which would earn a lot of goodwill of the fasting population without much loss of revenue.

A disturbing revelation in the Budget is the state of our railways which has incurred a loss of Rs. 1042 million in 1982-83 and is

expected to lose Rs. 1270 million in the coming year. This state of affairs cannot be casually brushed aside as due to 'ticketless travel and other revenue leakages'. If it is so, it means that there exists mismanagement of colossal magnitude. It is unjust that the honest should be made to pay through their noses for the mismanagement of those running the enterprise and for the dishonesty of the few. It is time that a thorough inquiry was conducted into the affairs of the Pakistan Railways and action was taken against those found responsible for leakages and malpractices.

This is the first Budget of the Sixth Five-Year Plan period. The realism of approach that is discernible in the Budget will, we hope, continue in finalising the targets and resource mobilisation steps throughout the plan period.

**BUSINESS RECORDER** has a special reason to be happy with this Budget. Almost all suggestions that were made by this paper for deregulating the economy and provision of incentives for development and indus-

trialisation have found place in one form or the other in the Budget. It was **BUSINESS RECORDER** which first raised its voice against the obnoxious system of 'P' Form. It was also this paper which had asked for laying down of guide lines for economic and commercial transactions rather than make the people run from pillar to post for obtaining sanctions and permissions; it was again this paper which had asked the Government to bring trusts and foundations within the tax-net wherever they compete with the private sector or public sector enterprises. Indeed, we can go on enumerating all that we suggested over the past so many years and the Government has accepted.

If this Budget has to go down in history as laying the foundation of an economic edifice that would lead the country into the ranks of progressive nations, it will be necessary to ensure that the implementing officials and the field bureaucracy shun regulatory habits cultivated over decades and abide by the new spirit that the Budget seeks to infuse.

# IDEOLOGY COUNCIL EXPRESSES CONCERN OVER FOREIGN SPOUSES

Karachi DAWN in English 5 Jun 83 p 5

[Text]

FAISALABAD, June 4: The Council of Islamic Ideology has expressed concern over marriages between Muslims and non-Muslims, which are harmful for the nation. Non-Muslim foreign wives of Pakistanis bring up children in a way which is alien with our ideology and faith.

A report of the Council further said that even Muslim women have started marrying non-Muslims, violating the injunctions of Islam. The Council, after taking into consideration this alarming situation, came to the conclusion that a general recommendation be made to the Government for taking effective steps to check this trend.

The following is the text of the report:

The CII wants to invite the attention of the Government of Pakistan to the marriages taking place (in increasing numbers) between Muslim women and males of other communities. The CII, unanimously, on the basis of tenets of Islam, regards this as a grave and disconcerting development in the Muslim society, which will corrode this society if immediate and effective measures are not taken by the

Government.

The Council therefore unanimously recommends to adopt necessary measures in this direction.

"The Council has also noted the equally alarming trend in recent years, on the part of Muslim males to take foreign spouses. While it is true that the Holy Quran gives permission to a Muslim male to marry a Kitabia, the Council is equally convinced that this permission cannot be recklessly utilised in case it is detrimental to the integrity of the community. Our great and pious Caliphs, Hazrat Umar and Hazrat Ali, are said to have effectively discouraged the licence to use such permission (which was only meant for an emergency). In our days this has obviously become a serious danger to the integrity of our society. "The Council is also aware that the Government took some steps a few years ago against Government servants taking foreign wives. The Council unanimously recommends that permission for marriages of Pakistani Muslim males with non-Muslim women should be effectively discouraged through persuasive and deterrent action."

CSO: 4600/702

# AIR HEADQUARTERS START FUNCTIONING AT CHAKLALA

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 12 Jun 83 p 3

[Text]

RAWALPINDI, June 11: On the completion of its move to Rawalpindi, Air Headquarters started functioning today from its new location at Chaklala.

The Chief of the Air Staff, Air Chief Marshal Mohammad Anwar Shamim, who formally arrived in Rawalpindi this morning, accompanied by his principal staff officers, was accorded a warm reception at the Chaklala airfield by the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, General Mohammad Iqbal Khan, Vice Chief of the Army Staff, General Sawar Khan, and Chief of the Naval Staff, Vice-Admiral Tariq Kamal Khan.

Senior officers from the Joint Staff Headquarters were also present on the occasion.

A Joint Staff Headquarters guard of honour, furnished by a Naval contingent, presented general salute to the Chief of the Air Staff. Air Chief Marshal

Shamim, took the salute and inspected the guard of honour.

The Chief of the Air Staff, accompanied by the Chairman and members JCSC, drove to the new Air Headquarters building for a special colour hoisting ceremony.

Earlier in the morning, the departure of the Chief of the Air Staff from Peshawar was marked by a formal send-off by the Governor of NWFP. Lt-Gen Fazle Haq. Also presented to see him off were provincial ministers and senior Army and PAF officers.

In the evening, the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee hosted a reception in honour of the Chief of the Air Staff and senior officers of Air Headquarters at Joint Staff Officers Mess. The reception was also attended by the Vice-Chief of the Army, the Chief of the Naval Staff and senior officers of the three services.

CSO: 4600/699

# TEHRIK VOICES STAND AGAINST MRD POINTS

Karachi DAWN in English 7 Jun 83 p 16

[Text]

• The Sind Working Committee of the defunct Tehrik-i-Istiqlal has demanded the release of Air Marshal (retd) M. Ashgar Khan and other political leaders, says a Press release.

The committee met yesterday in Karachi under the chairmanship of Mr. Ahmed Mian Soomro. Qazi Hafizur Rehman, central secretary for Sind, and 16 more officials, besides others, attended the meeting.

It also demanded the release of Miss Benazir Bhutto, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, students, workers, lawyers and others before Ramadan, and stressed that preventive detention without trial is un-Islamic.

It recommended to the central working committee of the Tehrik not to accept the 31 points of the MRD and felt that they were "beyond the purpose and scope" of the MRD as they contained the "most objectionable" theory of Pakistan being a federation of nationalities.

"The Tehrik-i-Istiqlal is a national party and while it supports maximum provincial autonomy, it

considers Pakistan as one nation and views Pakistan as a federation of provinces enjoying maximum provincial autonomy," the committee said.

The Tehrik would have its own party manifesto for contesting the general election, when they are held, the committee observed, adding that it had requested the national working committee to reconsider its relationship with the MRD in case of its insistence on adhering to the 31-point declaration.

## MRD vs Tehrik

Meanwhile, the Secretary-General of the defunct Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, Mr. Mushir Ahmed Pesh Imam, has said in a Press statement that it would be for the national working committee to deliberate and take a decision on the letter received from the Secretary-General of the MRD on the issue relating to the 31 points.

He said: "Our party is committed to its manifesto which is progressive and it protects the rights of the citizens of Pakistan irrespective of their position."

CSO: 4600/702

# LAWYERS OPEN NEW CHAPTER OF STRUGGLE

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Jun 83 p 22

[Text]

LAHORE, June 9: Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri, former Law Minister and a leading senior advocate, has said lawyers have opened a new chapter in the struggle for democracy, restoration of civil liberties, end of Martial Law and the revival of the jurisdiction of courts.

The direction which the lawyers have given to their movement for human rights by observing hunger-strikes in all the cities of Pakistan has been noted with admiration by the lawyers of the world and all friends of human rights and liberties, he added.

It is gratifying that the movement has been conducted with dignity and discipline, he pointed out.

Mian Kasuri said although the Punjab coordinating committee had selected eight cities for observing the hunger-strike, in fact it was observed in all cities of the province and other parts of Pakistan.

He said the community of the Bar had been in the front ranks of the fighters for human liberties and jurisdiction of courts for the last 50 years. "Ours is an international profession and thousands of

lawyers in all parts of the world would be noting our performance and I am sure many of them will fully support the struggle of their Pakistani brothers", he concluded.

A report from Hafizabad says four local lawyers, namely Malik Nasir Hayat, Rai Mohammad Arif Kharal, Rai Pir Mohammad Safdar Kharal and Munawar Hussain, and Sufi Bashir Ahmed, a clerk, completed their token hunger-strike on the concluding day of lawyers' movement for restoration of fundamental rights of people.

## 'Black Day'

The President, District Bar Association, Lahore, Mr Mansoor Malik, has said the lawyers will observe July 5 as "Black Day" in response to the call given by the National Coordination Committee of the Lawyers.

He was speaking at the Bar room of the Lahore High Court today. Malik Mansoor said it was time for political parties to come forward and keep the movement marching forward till the basic rights of people were achieved.

CSO: 4600/700

TV PROGRAMS TO PROJECT FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Jun 83 p 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, June 9: The Managing Director of Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV) Zia Nisar Ahmed, said on Wednesday that the PTV's Current Affairs programme will be designed to project the Independence Movement during the July-Sept. quarter.

PTV, he said, will interview all those personalities who had witnessed the Independence struggle. These interviews will be telecast in the Current Affairs programme. The idea, he said was to give the viewers a true picture of the movement and the sacrifices rendered by the Muslims of the Subcontinent for the sake of freedom.

The PTV chief told newsmen that interviewees will not necessarily be active freedom fighters. PTV, he said, will try to capture the life impressions of even those who lived through the historic experience and came in contact with the stalwarts of freedom fight. This and some other decisions regarding the

PTV programmes have recently been made at a conference chaired by the Secretary, Information, Gen. Mujibur Rehman, Mr. Zia said.

When asked if political figures will also be interviewed for this programme, Mr. Zia said, politicians had spoken a lot in the past. Let the masses listen to those who did not play an active role but watched the struggle.

Mr. Zia described PTV's performance as excellent and said media could not force the viewers to accept the positive side of the programme. Newsmen were also told that PTV viewers will be motivated to donate blood, participate actively in cleanliness schemes, observe strictly traffic rules, and render social services.

The Press conference which was held at PTV Headquarters was addressed by senior PTV officers including Fayyazul Haq, Ijaz Asif, Muslehuddin, Sarmad Sahbai and Auno Muhammad.

CSO: 4600/700



## NEW PRIVATE SCIENCE UNIVERSITY UNDER STUDY

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 7 Jun 83 p 1

[Article by Anwar Rajani]

[Text]

The Government proposes to allow the establishment of a new privately endowed university of science and technology under a charter to be granted by the Government, it is reliably learnt.

The purpose of this university would be to produce quality manpower for the development of science and technology in the country.

If the proposal goes through, the university would be established by a consortium of banks, international financial institutions and local industry.

It will be completely an autonomous body in terms of the decision about studies, admissions, rates of tuition fees and receiv-

ing and administering endowments from local as well as foreign sources.

According to informed sources, the calibre of faculty recruited would be comparable to those available in the best universities in advanced countries.

The university will initially offer courses in a limited number of basic sciences and technologies at the under-graduate and post-graduate levels. The programme will, however, expand as more endowed chairs are established.

Being first of its kind in the country, the university will have very active research as well as academic programme.

In addition, it will offer a large number of research fellowships so that talented students are attracted.

CSO: 4600/697

# SPECIAL ENDOWMENT FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 6 Jun 83 p 1

[Text]

A move is afoot to establish a "Special Endowment Fund" with the purpose to provide financial support to research project and programmes for the development of science and technology, it is reliably learnt.

The financial assistance from the Fund will go to research projects of national importance sponsored by any individual researcher, research group or organisation who face paucity of funds and are unable to secure help from any other organisation.

According to informed sources, the Fund will initially receive a Government grant. It will also have tax deductible contributions by interested international and national organisations and philanthropists.

The Fund will be operated under an autonomous Board of Governors which will be constituted

by the Federal Government.

The programme of the Government is also to reactivate research institutions of science and technology working under the Federal as well as the provincial Governments.

It may be recalled that Dr. Mahbubul Haq, Federal Planning Minister, during his Press conference on June 2, pointed out that science and technology were being given special attention, recognising their crucial role in the nation's development.

He said that allocation for science and technology had been raised three-fold Rs. 5,500 to Rs 6,000 million during the Sixth Plan.

Besides, a special cadre for the scientists and technocrats was proposed in order to offer better career prospects and rewards to the scientists and technologists, he said, adding private sector was also being invited to set up a new university for training scientists and technologists.

CSO: 4600/697

## ENGLISH PROFICIENCY UNITS IN UNIVERSITIES PLANNED

Karachi DAWN in English 8 Jun 83 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, June 7: The Government is planning to open "English proficiency units" in the form of a network in all the universities of the country.

This was disclosed here this morning by Dr Mohammad Afzal, Federal Education Minister, while opening the first "International conference on the teaching of English as a foreign/second language."

The three-day conference at the University Grants Commission has been organised by the Institute for Higher Education in collaboration with the British Council. The purpose of the conference is to suggest measures for improving the standards of teaching English as a language.

According to the Federal Minister, these units would help the students, who are weak in this subject, to adequately shoulder their academic burden.

After having the requisite trained staff, these units would also be established at the pre-professional stage. One such experimental unit has already been opened in the Baluchistan University and its results are satisfactory.

The Minister said the deterioration in the standard of English language teaching had become almost a cliché in the educational world.

He said the teaching of the English language in Pakistan had been quite directionless. "It has been contradictory in nature without clearly defined objectives", the Minister observed.

He pointed out that one of the inherent contradictions had been their failure to distinguish between

the study of English literature and the study of English language. The two fields were quite distinct. He said this was the root-cause of their present-day malaise.

He said although emphasis had been shifted toward teaching English language as second language, yet many had still not recognised the difference.

Dr Afzal said nobody could deny the importance of English in the present-day world. It had almost become an international lingua franca, being the most widespread medium of international communication.

He said their interest in English was primarily for specific purposes of acquiring knowledge of science, technology, international commerce and similar other pursuits. This use, he added, had grown up during the past few decades. He stressed that Pakistan needed individuals who knew several languages.

The Minister said English was taught as second language from class VI and this could also be done at the lower level if schools could afford it.

He praised the efforts of the sponsors of the conference as such exchange of information was essential for progress.

He urged the conference to recommend methods and necessary material for teaching English in a better manner.

Earlier, Mrs A. R. Haque, of the University Grants Commission, speaking on the occasion said the teachers were greatly responsible for deterioration of English in the country. She hoped this conference would be annually held as it could improve the teaching methods.

## FIRST PAKISTAN-BUILT TUG COMMISSIONED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 12 Jun 83 p 3

[Text]

The Secretary-General, Defence, Maj-Gen. (rtd) M. Rahim, yesterday paid glowing tributes to Pakistan Navy's endeavours to use modern technology in all the spheres of activity, despite the paucity of resources.

"With its traditional silence and peculiar modesty, the PN is boldly executing sophisticated development projects, which may take some time to mature, but whose importance is too obvious to under-rate", he said while formally performing the commissioning ceremony of the first tug designed and built by the Pakistan Navy.

The formal commissioning of the tug into the fleet was held at PN Dockyard in Karachi yesterday morning. Named 'PNS Goga', the construction of the tug constitutes yet another landmark in the PN Dockyard's efforts to achieve self-sufficiency not only in the refit and rebuild of ships and submarines, but also in the designing and construction of new sea-going vessels.

The vessel commissioned is a pusher tug and will be used to push ships and submarines out of, or into, their berths in harbour. In confined waters of the harbour, manoeuvrability of ships and submarines on their own power tends to be difficult, so they require a tug to help them get alongside, or conversely, away from their own power.

The commissioning ceremony of 'PNS Goga' got under way with the arrival of the Secretary-General Defence in the PN Dockyard. He was received by Rear Admiral Ghayur Abbas

Zaidi, Commander Logistics, who introduced Maj-Gen. (rtd) M. Rahim to officers and supervisors associated with the project.

Maj-Gen M. Rahim then boarded the tug to unveil the name plate—an act which constituted the formal commissioning of the vessel as a Pakistan Navy ship.

Referring to the PNS ship-building activity, the Secretary-General, Defence, praised the engineers and workers of the Dockyard whose initiative, courage, patience, and professionalism had been instrumental in the gradual transition of Pakistan Navy Dockyard from a repair and refit organisation, into one where new construction activity had now become a regular feature.

Earlier, in his address of welcome, the General Manager, Dockyard, Captain Javed Ali, recounted the herculean efforts being made by engineers and workers of the Dockyard to ensure operational readiness of ships and submarines of the PN fleet, alongwith the designing and construction of floating docks, ships, and boats of different types, precious foreign exchange was thus being saved, and teams dedicated experts and skilled workers being trained for the eventual building of ships by the PN.

The ceremony concluded with a cruise around the harbour by the Secretary-General Defence, on board 'PNS Goga'. The ceremony was attended by a large number of naval officers, sailors and staff of the PN Dockyard. Two former naval chiefs, Admiral H.M.S. Choudhri and Admiral S. M. Ahsan were also present.

## BRITISH EXPERTS TO SURVEY RAILWAY TRACK

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 9 Jun 83 p 3

[Text] LAHORE, June 8--The Federal Railway Minister, Nawabzada Abdul Ghafoor Khan Hoti, has said that the United Kingdom is sending a team of experts to Pakistan to survey the doubling of the track on the main line.

Talking to newsmen here today, he said that the railways wanted to have a double track but that would cost much.

The United Kingdom, he said would undertake the survey for laying the double-track from Raiwind to Multan, Shershah to Lodhran and Lahore to up-country. This project would be executed under a phase programme.

He said the Pakistan Railways at present was running 763 trains including goods trains and carrying 40,000 passengers and 50,000 tonnes of goods daily from one destination to another, which means that one train is being run after every two minutes.

### Accord With S. Arabia

Ghafoor Khan Hoti said that Pakistan has signed a contract with Saudi Arabia to lay a new rail track between Hafuf and Rayadh.

The minister said that he would visit Iran soon in connection with the stabilisation of the railway track between Iran and Pakistan.

He said trade between Pakistan and Iran was increasing and for this purpose, we wanted to have a very stable track. He said the Quetta-Zahidan section was also being electrified.

He said he would pursue the Pakistan government to pay the cost of the new track between Quetta and Zahidan and request the Iran government to provide oil to Pakistan equivalent to the cost of the track.

He further said that the railway was also setting up a locomotive plant at Risalpur with the collaboration of Japan. In the beginning it would be run on single shift basis to manufacture 50 locomotives every year. However, he said, second and third shift could be started with the increase in demand for the locomotives.

The Federal Railway Minister said that Pakistan Railway was also participating in the international bidding and it had been able to secure orders for the overhaul of 20 locomotives in Iran and manufacture of spare parts for the Somalian railway. The Somalian railway had placed an order with the Pakistan railway for a Rs nine million work.

In reply to a question, he said that the Nigerian railway was keen to double rail track in Nigeria and had asked the Pakistan railway to give a helping hand in this task. But, he added, the project had been shelved for the time being.

Replying to a question regarding the purchase of locomotives from West Germany, the Federal Minister said that 30 locomotives would arrive from West Germany by September this year to help provide some relief to the railway.

CSO: 4600/698



# YARN SMUGGLING THREATENS TOWEL INDUSTRY

Karachi DAWN in English 8 Jun 83 pp 1, 9

[Article by Shaheen Sehba]

[Text]

Large-scale smuggling of cotton yarn across the border is understood to be a major factor responsible for the present yarn crisis which is threatening closure of over a hundred towel-making units and forcing hosiery exporters to stop making further commitments.

A senior APTMA official, while officially declining to comment on this particular aspect of the situation, agreed that the difference in yarn prices in Pakistan and in India may be tempting people to smuggle it to the other side.

APTMA Chairman, Mr. Aftab Ahmed, told 'Dawn' the textile mills were supplying almost 1,000 tons of yarn every day to the domestic market and in his view, this should be enough.

Towel manufacturers say the shortage has been created owing to increased exports of yarn and hoarding by the textile mills to extract better price.

But the APTMA chief disputes this claim. "It is the market mechanism which is working. Since the demand has increased and supply is not enough to meet it, the prices have to go up," he said.

Mr. Aftab also challenged the figures given out by the Towel Association and said by their account, 20 to 25 per cent of their capacity should have already been closed by now. "This is not so and the towel makers are still buying yarn, though at higher price, because they can still manage to meet their export commitments and make a profit."

Official sources said the matter was raised by the Towel, Garment

and Hosiery Associations in the last meeting of the Federal Export Promotion Board held under President Zia-ul-Haq's Chairmanship on May 18 in Islamabad but no decision was taken.

They said these associations had demanded that a ban on export of yarn be imposed since it was affecting the local export oriented industries.

The official view at the Federal Board meeting was that the recent decision to decrease compensatory rebate on export of yarn from 7.5 per cent to 4.5 per cent was enough for the moment and the situation would be watched for some time.

"But prices of yarn have further increased in the local market since the rebate was cut," an Hosiery Association official disclosed. "The step has proved to be negative as far as yarn-based industries are concerned," he added.

An APTMA official agreed that this had happened but said it proved that cutting the rebate was not the right thing to do. "The towel hosiery manufacturers should instead demand increase in their rebates to help them face the situation," he said.

Official sources said a paper presented by the Towel Association at the Federal Board meeting had warned that the problem can "seriously hamper the increasing trend of export and affect the employment situation at home due to closure of most of value-added textile industries."

But an APTMA official said the production of yarn had increased

from 430 million kg in 1981-82 to 450 m kg in 1982-83. "The only answer to the problem is more production," he said.

The President of the Towel Association, Mr. S.M.A. Rizvi, said it was an ironical situation in which the local industry was getting yarn at a higher price and exports were being made cheaper and are being used to keep domestic prices higher.

According to him 40,000 persons employed in the Towel industry would become jobless within a month if the situation continues. "The yarn available in the market is so costly that we cannot keep our factories running," he added.

### Textile goods

Business sources say the charges levelled by one group against the other are not totally baseless. It is true, they say that foreign manufacturers of cotton made-ups compete with Pakistani exporters of the same products by using Pakistani yarn as raw material. "Our own exported yarn is pushing our value-added textile goods out of the international markets," one exporter said.

"We are losing much on our exports, but we have to keep our com-

mitments as we cannot afford to lose our markets," a Hosiery exporter said.

According to the Hosiery Association the Government had hinted that the industries using yarn as raw material could import their requirements if yarn was not available locally, but this, an official said, would not work.

"Imagine Pakistan producing so much cotton and so much yarn, importing yarn from others to meet its own requirements. It would be an anomalous situation," one expert remarked.

Another exporter said almost Rs.25m to Rs.30m had been invested by the yarn-based industries in modernisation and improving their quality in recent months, and if the present situation continues, "this investment would just go waste."

Market sources say smuggling to India had stepped up since the Indian textile industry was facing an acute crisis following the Bombay textile strike which lasted over 16 months.

The situation had been further aggravated by increased exports of cloth to Iran mainly produced by the powerloom sector, they said.

CSO: 4600/703

# IRAQI TEAM DISCUSSES COTTON PURCHASE

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 8 Jun 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Issues relating to purchase of Pakistani cotton by Iraq were discussed at a meeting in Karachi yesterday between the visiting Iraqi Minister for Light Engineering, Tariq Hamad al Abdullah, and the Chairman of the Cotton Export Corporation, Nusrat Hasan.

A CEC spokesman said that Tariq Abdullah enquired about the prospects for supply of cotton to Iraq by Pakistan from the 1983-84 crop, the sowing of which has just been completed.

He also asked about the different staple lengths of Pakistani cotton and their likely availability.

Nusrat Hasan explained to the Iraqi Minister the different qualities of Pakistani cotton and the production targets fixed by the Pakistan government for the 1983-84 crop.

He said a Pakistani delegation would be ready to visit Baghdad at some future date to discuss the matter in greater detail.

Abdullah who was accompanied by the head of State Textile Trading Corporation of Iraq, also visited the CEC sample room where he was shown different types of cotton.

The CEC spokesman described the 90-minute meeting as "very production".

Further discussions are to take place later on the possibility of Iraqi purchases of Pakistani cotton.

It may be mentioned that till recent Iraq met its' cotton requirements largely from domestic production, making only occasional spot purchases from the international market.

Since Iraq's needs are virtually limited to long staple cotton, and Pakistan did not produce this staple length in any appreciable quantity until a few years ago, there was no export of Pakistani cotton to Iraq.

However, Iraqi needs for cotton have outstripped current domestic production, and because Pakistan is now growing long staple cotton also the possibility of Iraq making substantial purchases in this sector from Pakistan have arisen for the first time.

Earlier the delegation headed by Tariq Hamad al-Abdullah, arrived in City from Baghdad on four-day visit to Pakistan.

The delegation is scheduled to leave for Islamabad today. It will also visit Lahore on June 9 before returning to Karachi the next day.

CSO: 4600/697

# PLAN TO SET UP NATIONAL COAL AUTHORITY

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 5 Jun 83 p 1

[Article by Anwar Rajani]

[Text]

The Federal Government proposes to set up a National Coal Authority (NCA) with the assignment to manage and coordinate the policies relating to exploration, prospecting and development of coal reserves and its use for generation of electricity and substitution of other energy resources, it is reliably learnt.

At present, there are several agencies under the Federal and Provincial Governments looking after exploration and mining of coal reserves. The Government wants to coordinate their functioning on proper lines.

There will be a Board of Governors of the NCA and the Provincial Governments would be given representation on the Board.

The functions of the NCA will include, among other things, the assessment of the quantity and quality of coal, investigation of economic potential of coal and coordination of coal utilisation feasibility studies. It would also assist the Government in establishing an appropriate structure for mining finance, specially the financing of the private sector projects.

It is reported that estimated coal reserves are one billion tons worth about 140 billion dollars at an oil price equivalent of 30 dollars per barrel.

The potential demand for coal in 1978-88 is estimated to be 5.4 million tons and this quantity can meet 10 per cent of the anticipated commercial energy demand. It is an official estimate.

There is a programme to establish small thermal energy plants near coal mines with participation of WAPDA and KESC as well as the Provincial Governments on joint venture or equity basis.

CSO: 4600/697

# OIL, GAS DEVELOPMENT BODY GETS CANADIAN AID FOR TRAINING

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Jun 83 p 14

[Text]

The Oil & Gas Development Corporation has embarked upon an ambitious training programme to meet the requirement of technical professionals in various disciplines in oil field technology.

This step has been taken to meet the shortage of trained manpower in the oil and gas industry caused, to a great extent, by large-scale exodus of trained manpower from OGDC to Middle East and other oil producing countries, according to a Press release.

OGDC has already established an Oil & Gas Training Institute (OGTI) at Islamabad with Canadian financial and technical assistance. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) which has assisted OGDC in this important field was requested sometime back to help develop the OGTI on the lines of similar institutes operating in Canada. A team of Canadian Consultants headed by Dr. E.R. Amerie, President of CANADCOM and with Mr. C.J. Frandovitch, President of Alberta Petroleum Industry Training Centre and Mr. W. Kent Oliver of Northern Alberta Institute of Tech-

nology recently visited Pakistan to identify the training requirements and prepare training programmes to meet immediate and long term training needs of OGDC.

After a series of consultations with Mr. M.H. Rizvi, Chairman of OGDC and senior officials of the Corporation and also with the Minister of Education, The University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore and Pakistan Institute of Management the Consultants are now preparing a detailed report for the classroom and on-the-job training in Pakistan and Canada. As a result of initial recommendations CIDA has already agreed to provide training to Instructors of OGTI in the field of drilling and production technology in Canada and to equip the Institute with training equipment and audio-visual aids to quicken the transfer of technology to OGDC.

During their stay in Pakistan the Canadian team was later joined by CIDA Oil And Gas Sector Review Mission and together they had a meeting with Major General (Retd.) Rao Farman Ali, Minister of Petroleum & Natural Resources.

CSO: 4600/700



## BIG BIOGAS DEVELOPMENT PLAN PREPARED

Government Targets 3,000 Family Units

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 5 Jun 83 p 1

[Text]

A gigantic programme for the development of bio-gas has been prepared by the Government which would provide facilities for domestic cooking and lighting specially in far flung and rural areas of the country.

The utilisation of bio-gas had been introduced in Pakistan on a small scale. A development project was to be launched in two phases.

The first phase of the project is now reported to have been completed which is of a demonstrative nature.

According to phase-II, which has been embarked upon recently, 1140 family size bio-gas units,

each of 200 CFT per day capacity, and 45 community size units, each of 2000 CFT per day capacity, will be set up in the country.

Mainly the bio-gas system will be used for heating, cooking, lighting and also for electrification.

It is reported that the Government has fixed the target for the establishment of 3000 family size bio-gas units per year in the country.

A regular evaluation of the installation and operation of the projects will be made by the Government to ensure success of this technology in Pakistan.

## 15,000 Biogas Plants Planned

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 7 Jun 83 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, June 6: A total of 15,000 bio-gas plants would be set up in the energy deficit areas of the country during the next five years, it was learnt here today.

According to the programme, the Government has earmarked the highest allocation for the energy sector in the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The new Plan included the electrification of almost all the villages by 1988, while the far flung areas will be provided with the bio-gas plants, a cheaper replacement for fire wood and kerosene oil.

More than Rs 100 billion will

be spent to increase the capacity of energy resources and apply other economically viable energy development technologies.

According to the details more than two thousand bio-gas plants had been set up in the country so far, while according to the programme 3,000 small and large bio-gas plants would be set up in the country annually from the next financial year up to the end of the Plan period.

The Directorate of Energy Resources will encourage the extensive use of the bio-gas technology in the areas far away from the power supply line and other remote deficit areas.

PRIVATE SECTOR TO BE ALLOWED POWER GENERATION

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 8 Jun 83 p 1

[Article by Anwar Rajani]

[Text]

A new policy is being framed by the Government to encourage the private sector to enter the field of power generation.

The policy envisages the establishment of electricity generating units, specially based on coal. The Government would provide all facilities to the private sector in this behalf.

The power so generated would, however, be sold by the private sector to WAPDA and KESC at pre-determined rates.

The rates would be fixed by the Government in such a way as they could give attractive profits on efficient generation, to the sponsors of the units.

According to informed sources, the policy, now under preparation, will provide a tremendous scope for private sector's participation in

the development of energy during the Sixth Plan period.

Possibilities are likely to be explored to invite private sector to increase its participation in the exploration and development of oil and gas resources and the two refinery projects envisaged during the Sixth Plan period.

In addition, private sector's participation is also expected in the hydro-cracker project for which the decision has already been taken.

It may be mentioned here that the Government has already announced clear formula for the pricing of the products for the development of oil and gas fields to assure attractive return on investment.

The Government proposes to spend about Rs. 108 billion on energy development during the Sixth Plan period.

CSO: 4600/697

## PROGRESS OF FARM MECHANIZATION SURVEYED

Karachi DAWN in English 5 Jun 83 pp 7, 9

[Article by Dr. Zia ur Rahman and Abdul Shakoor Khan, Farm Machinery Institute, National Agriculture Research Centre, P.O. National Institute of Health, Islamabad]

[Text]

THERE are 1,20,000 operating tractors and 7 million draught animals available in the country for agriculture. The existing tractor population is only sufficient for cultivating 6.7 m hectares which is approximately 1/3 of the cultivated area. The remaining 2/3 area is being cultivated with the help of the animals. These animals will be used until a sufficient number of tractors have been added to their existing population.

The most commonly used farm implements and machines with tractor are cultivators, rear and front blades, wheat threshers & trolleys. The other farm machines equipment which need have to be developed and introduced are: drills, planters, transplanters, sprayers, harvesters, threshers for all major crops except wheat, dryers and mini-storage bins.

A bulk of fruit and vegetable crops produced in the country are wasted due to lack of proper harvesting, canning & packing facilities for these crops. There is a need to develop appropriate machines and systems to maximise the benefits in vegetable and orchard farming.

The locally-produced farm

machines lack in quality, reasonable pricing and safety features. In order to improve the quality, there is a need to complete the formulation of farm machinery standards by the Farm Machinery Standardisation Committee appointed by the Government.

The other measures, are: establishment of farmers associations, manufacturers associations, private farm machinery consulting firms, farm machinery testing centres at the national as well as provincial levels to test the locally manufactured machines and issue certificates and award prizes on quality products.

There is a need to work out and publicise the prices of farm machines at district level through local radio and the Press to increase the awareness of farmers about the prices and availability of farm machines in their surrounding areas just as it is done in the case of crops. Similarly, both the manufacturers and farmers should be educated about safety measures to minimise accidents and health hazards in the operation of machinery. The availability of spare parts and after-sales service is another important area which needs vast improvement.

The research done at the Universities, Research Institutes and other Research & Development (R&D) organisations is of little use if it is not communicated and practised by the farm machinery manufacturers and farmers.

The steps to benefit from the re-

search carried out at the research organisations are: publishing of articles in newspapers, publicising importance and benefits of new machines through radio & TV, arranging farm machinery demonstrations for farmers and manufacturers and holding of machinery exhibitions at provincial and national levels.

There is serious shortage of trained engineers, technicians and operators in the field of farm machinery in the country. Although the universities are producing enough graduates of Agricultural Engineering, they are not fully equipped to immediately solve problems arising in farm mechanisation. As soon as they are able to, by acquiring some practical experience, they leave the country, either for higher education, or to avail better employment opportunities in the Middle East.

This situation demands raising of the standard of engineering education, starting of M.S. & Ph.D. programmes in the country and providing better emoluments to the qualified and trained engineers.

The Government-sponsored training opportunities are not being fully utilised because of lengthy and cumbersome bureaucratic procedures. The result is that an estimated 40% of the foreign training scholarships lapse every year. There is an urgent need to streamline procedures for training abroad.

The lack of trained operators and technicians is a major obstacle in the proper operation, repair and maintenance of farm machines in the country. The existing facilities to train the tractor operators and mechanics are grossly inadequate for the 20,000 to 25,000 tractors imported locally-manufactured every year in the country. Proper and adequate training facilities for the operators and mechanics of farm machines are required to be established in the country.

## 2. MACHINERY REQUIREMENTS ACCORDING TO AGRO-ECOLOGICAL ZONES

The farm machinery requirements depend upon the types of farm enterprises, namely, forestry; orchard and vegetable farming; crop husbandry and cattle and dairy farming. The other factors affecting machine selection are: soil type, climatic conditions, irrigation practices and topography of land.

It is difficult to design a multiple function machine. This necessitates a careful study of selection of

farm machines with respect to agro-ecological zones. The FMI has started to work out farm machinery requirements according to agro-ecological zones which is expected to be completed in the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

## POTENTIAL RESEARCHABLE AREAS & PRIORITIES OF RESEARCH

There are only two farm machinery research organisations, namely, Farm Machinery Institute (FMI) & Agricultural Mechanisation Research Institute (AMRI) conducting research on full-time basis for the development of farm machines and promotion of farm mechanisation. The Universities of Agriculture located at Faisalabad, Tandojam and Peshawar are doing some research in appropriate tillage practices.

The FMI has developed and commercialised multicrop threshers and reaper-wind rowers. The Institute is developing a groundnut digger and a thresher. The Institute is also working to find out appropriate tillage practices according to agro-ecological zones for all the major crops grown in the country. In its future plans the FMI will develop a mechanical paddy transplanter, a sugarcane planter, a sugarcane harvester and a direct-drill in the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The AMRI has also developed a reaper-windrower. The AMRI is presently working on the development of a high-ground clearance sprayers, a seed drill and animal-drawn implements.

## TRAINING REQUIREMENTS

There is a severe shortage of highly qualified and experienced engineers in the field of farm mechanisation. There is enough capacity to produce agricultural engineering graduates of bachelor level in the country. But fresh graduates of the Universities are not capable of tackling the problems in this field. By the time, they gain experience, they leave the country either for higher training or better jobs. The situation is alarming and needs immediate attention.

The present farm machinery research institutes, i.e., FMI & AMRI, and proposed farm machinery research cells in Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan will be in need of 8-10 Ph.D's and 20 M.S's in Agricultural Engineering in the Sixth Five-Year Plan period.

Similarly the Universities, tractor manufacturing industries

and big farm machinery manufacturers can utilise the services of 20 Ph.D's & 40 M.S's in Agricultural Engineering during this period. Thus there is an urgent need for starting M.S. & Ph.D. programme in the country's Universities to meet this demand.

The situation on the availability of qualified operators and technicians to operate the farm machines and other appliances used in farm mechanisation is even worse. The existing training facilities of operators and mechanics of farm machinery are hardly sufficient for 10% of the tractor imported/locally-produced in the country. There is a similar lack of technicians who can use laboratory equipment required for testing and evaluation of farm machines.

The following suggestions are made to overcome the shortage of trained technicians, mechanics & operators:

- Expansion of existing training facilities and establishment of new training institutions.

- Expansion and improvement of three-year diploma course in auto and farm machinery in the

Polytechnic institutes.

- Short-course training of owners of farm machinery repair workshops.

- Creation of training facilities by the tractor manufacturers who do not have these at their premises.

- Starting of mobile training schools by Government organisations and major manufacturers.

## TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY

The research carried out at the Research Institutes and Universities has to be utilised by those concerned so that its benefits could be reaped in time. In agricultural engineering the main users of research are farm machinery manufacturers and the farmers. As the two groups are distinct and have entirely different information requirements, the process of technology transfer needs enormous resources, personnel and efforts.

In such a situation the combined efforts by various research organisations can play a significant role in organising farmer fairs, field demonstrations, machinery or process demonstrations, information dissemination and industrial extension operations.

# SEED PROCESSING PLANT TO GO INTO PRODUCTION

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 6 Jun 83 p 6

[Text]

LAHORE, June 5: Rs. seven crore Khanewal Seed Processing Plant will go into production next month to supply certified seeds to the farmers, Dr. Mahbub Ali, Managing Director, Punjab Seed Corporation disclosed in 'Bilmushafa' programme of Radio Pakistan Lahore.

He said that the PSC would supply 12 lakh maunds of certified wheat seed to the growers in the next Rabi, whereas, he added, it would become self sufficient in the production of potato seed in the coming year.

He said that in the first phase the corporation had taken the responsibility of supplying the seeds of wheat, paddy, cotton and maize. Now, he added, in the second phase it was also providing the seeds of pulses, grams, vegetables and animal feed besides those of potato and sunflower.

He said that with the use of certified seed of the Corporation not only the production of various

crops had gone up from 10 to 12 per cent but their quality had also improved. With the result, he said, the demand for the cash crops of Pakistan was increasing in the world market.

In reply to a question, he said that delay in the completion of three seed processing plants in the province was in no way affecting the supply of certified seeds to the farmers. At present the corporation was meeting cent per cent demand of cottonseed and supplying seeds of the other crops according to the targets fixed by the government from time to time.

To a question about the seed processing plants, he said that the plants at Sahiwal and Rahimyar Khan would take about two years to go into production. In fact, he added, the defecting construction of their buildings had upset the entire schedule. Now new buildings for these plants would be constructed.

CSO: 4600/697

## BRIEFS

**SUDAN, NEPAL OFFERED RESEARCH**--Pakistan has offered the Services of Textile Industry Research and Development Centre (TIRDC) for establishing textile training centre in Sudan and Nepal on the request of their respective governments, TIKDC sources said in Karachi. Last year, the UNIDO (U.N. Industrial Development Organisation) headquarters had agreed to make TIRDC as a centre of excellence for training of the textile technologists of the countries of the Asian region. The sources said that the centre has applied research programmes and done useful work on blending of polyester-cotton fibres, water proofing, flame retardant finishes for textiles, utilisation of solar energy etc. It has active and fruitful liaison with international textile consultancy, training teaching and research organisations such as the International Wool Secretariat, International Institute for Cotton Research and Development centres of Iraq, Sri Lanka, Turkey, UK, USA, India etc. [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 6 Jun 83 p 6]

**WATER SUPPLY FOR REFUGEES**--QUETTA June 9--Afghan refugees are being provided every possible facility in their camps and huge amounts are being spent for this purpose by the Government of Pakistan. During the current fiscal year an amount of Rs. 23 million has been allocated for providing drinking water to these Afghans in their camps. Work on 25 projects was started and upto now 13 schemes have been completed. Work on rest of the schemes is in progress and soon all the schemes will be completed. As the bulk of the refugees are in Pishin and Chagai districts, seven schemes have been taken in hand in Pishin and 11 others were started for the refugees in Chagai district. For Quetta, Zhob and Loralai allocation were made for one, two, and five schemes respectively. [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 10 Jun 83 p 2]

**WHEAT PRICE IN PUNJAB**--LAHORE, June 9--Price of wheat in the open market is less than the government support price. The minimum price of wheat in the open market at Faisalabad is Rs. 156 per quintal, Lahore Rs. 160 per quintal, Gujranwala Rs. 159 per quintal and at places like Multan, Sahiwal and Bahawalpur is Rs. 155 per quintal. Atta is selling round about Rs. 185 per quintal in all the markets except at Lahore where its price is Rs. 190 per quintal. [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 10 June 83 p 2]

**AVIATION INSTITUTE UPGRADING PLANNED**--HYDERABAD, June 9--The Civil Aviation Training Institute, Hyderabad, will be upgraded into a regional institute from January next to meet the training requirements of host of the south-east Asian



countries and some Arab countries. This was disclosed by the Principal of the Institute Shahid Raza while briefing newsmen after the visit of a five-member film team of the International Civil Aviation Organisation which visited the institute near the Hyderabad Civil Airport about eight miles north of here on Tuesday. [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 10 Jun 83 p 2]

NEW AJK POLITICAL PARTY--RAWALPINDI, June 9--A new party has emerged out on the political canvas of Azam Jammu and Kashmir with the launching of Islam Jamhoori Party, here this morning. The IJP, comprising the political leaders and workers who recently parted with the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference (AKKMC), has come out with a demand of eliminating the AJK council. S.H. Basharat Ahmad, secretary general of an eight-member convening committee of the IJP, announcing the launching of the IJP said here this morning that expiement of the AJK council had failed and it should be abolished by making an amendment, in the state's 1974 constitution. He said IJP would strive hard for getting this demand met through demoncratic measures. "Gilgit and Baltistan are an integral unit of the AJK state", he further said, "we will continue our struggle for the liberation of India-held Jammu and Kashmir". The solution of the Kashmir problem, he added, lies in the holding of plebiscite so that people of AJK state could decide their further themselves. We want to include Kashmir in the Federation of Pakistan, he said. [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 10 Jun 83 p 3]

ML TO LAUNCH MOVEMENT--MULTAN, June 9--Pir Pagaro, leader of the defunct Pakistan Muslim League, has said that free and fair elections are vital for restoration of basic rights of people. Talking to partymen, including some lawyers, at the residence of Mr Rehmat Ali Alvi, district party chief, Muzaffargarh on Wednesday evening, Mr Pir Pagaro said that his party had decided to launch a campaign for restoration of the democratic process and ending of Martial Law for which the line of action will be announced at an Iftar party during the holy month of Ramazan. Referring to political structure that President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq is expected to announce on Aug 14, he said that a political structure given by a non-political person would in real sence be a structure only, without any political material in it. Pir Sahib ssid that continued delay in general elections has created discouragement and disappointment in the minds of the people. He suggested that elections be held without any further delay would restore the people's confidence. [Karachi DAWN in English 10 Jun 83 p 8]

GENERAL ELECTIONS DEMANDED--FAISALABAD, June 9--Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Punjab defunct Muslim League, (Khwaja Khairuddin Group), Mian Mohammad Shafi, has accused the Government of trying to perpetuate its rule on the pretext of local bodies elections. He reiterated that the one and only solution of the prevalent political crisis lay in general elections. He further said that the MRD stood for general elections, lifting of Martial Law, restoration of the basic rights of the masses, cessation of Press censorship and release of political prisoners and detenus. [Karachi DAWN in English 10 Jun 83 p 19]

BENAZIR'S DETENTION CRITICIZED--LARKANA, June 9--The President of MRD, Larkana, Mr Ahmed Nawaz Awan, Mr Ghulamullah Mahoto and Ayaz Soomro, General

Secretary of S.P.S.F. in a joint Press statement criticised the detention of Miss Banazir Bhutto, the acting chief of the defunct P.P.P., and withdrawal of facilities which were available to her earlier. They said all political detenus along with detained students, advocates, journalists, workers and peasants should be immediately released. [Karachi DAWN in English 10 Jun 83 p 19]

CLARIFICATION DEMANDED--The General Secretary of All-Karachi Welfare Federation, Mr Rahatullah Khan, referring to allegations about monetary benefits drawn by leaders of Istehkam-i-Pakistan Council asked the Istehkam leaders to clear their position and declare their assets--past and present. In a Press statement he also urged the Sind Government to hold an impartial inquiry into the funds of the Istehkam and take stern action against persons if the allegations were found untrue. [Karachi DAWN in English 8 Jun 83 p 4]

PIRZADA'S PROGRESS IN LONDON--LONDON, June 7--Former Federal Minister and a leader of the defunct PPP, Mr. Abdul Hafiz Pirzada, reached London, after undergoing treatment for his heart ailment. He was reported to be lucky as he does not have to undergo open-heart surgery. Mr Pirzada is expected to stay in Britain for about four weeks, during which he would be visiting different towns in the Midlands with large Pakistani population, his former party members and colleagues. He is also expected to meet different political leaders who are in Britain at present. In the meantime, Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto, has also reached London after his heart surgery in the United States. He also intends to stay in London for a few weeks. Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Begum Nasim Wali Khan, who also reached here a couple of days ago, are staying in London for a week or so before moving to Birmingham to stay with their relations there. The former military secretary to late Z.A. Bhutto, (Retd) Gen. Imteaz, is also reported to have arrived here suddenly. [Karachi DAWN in English 8 Jun 83 p 4]

PRISONER MISTREATMENT: ENQUIRY DEMANDED--Thirteen MRD leaders have demanded judicial inquiry into the alleged manhandling of some political prisoners inside Haripur (NWFP) jail. In a joint statement, they claimed that some political prisoners were beaten and one Khalil Qureshi was seriously injured. They said that Naeem, Imtiaz, Dr. Musawar, Masud Afridi, Kaka Gul Bacha, Ismail, Babu Fazal Khaliq, Asif Butt and Dr. Jehanzeb were also beaten. The signatories to the statement were: Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari, Khwaja Khairuddin, Mairaj Mohammad Khan, Pervaiz Saleh, Makhdoom Khaliquzzaman, Maulana Ethramul Haq Thanvi, Choudhri Arshad, Mushtaq Mirza, Mehmoodul Haq Usmani, Haji Ghulam Ahmed Bilore, Fazil Rahu, Fatehyab Ali Khan and Maulana Sher Afzal. [Karachi DAWN in English 8 Jun 83 p 16]

DEAL WITH SAUDI FIRM--Pakistan Steel Fabricating Company, a subsidiary of the Pakistan Steel, has made a long-term deal with a private Saudi trading firm for the supply of 50 million rupees worth of cast iron annually. The first batch of the cast iron products is expected to be dispatched to Saudi Arabia next month. [Excerpt] [Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 23 Jun 83 BK]

POPULATION GROWTH--The density of the country's population, which was 82 persons per square kilometer in 1972, has increased to 111 persons per square kilometer by this year. The increase is the highest in Punjab with 229 persons per square kilometer. The ratios in Northwest Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan are 146,124 and 12 persons per square kilometer, while Islamabad and federally administered tribal areas have 369 and 80 persons per square kilometer respectively. A survey of the work force in various occupational groups has indicated that the number of workers contributing to national development constitutes 31 percent of the total population whereas in the most advanced countries it is nearly 50 percent. The number of female workers constitutes 3.79 percent of the country's total population. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 24 Jun 83 BK]

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